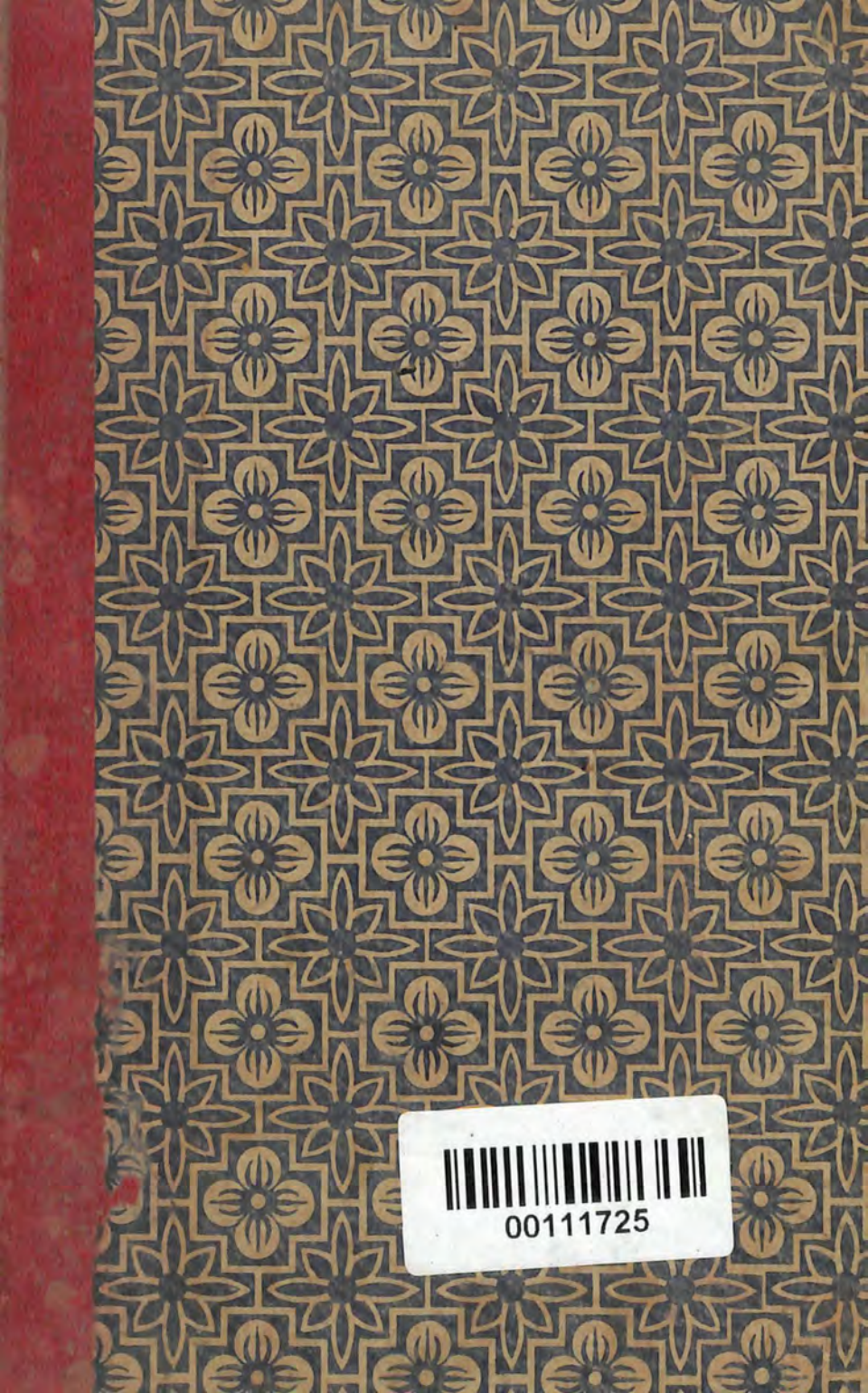
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THE

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES;

OR

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

IN THE

APOSTOLIC AGE.

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

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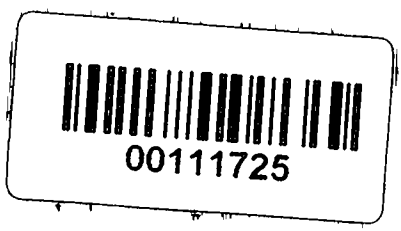

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THIRD BOOK.

(CONTINUED.)

FIRST PART.

(CONTINUED.)

THE CHURCH AMONG THE GENTILES.

§ 32. IT IS NOT PAUL'S DEFENCE OF HIMSELF BEFORE THE JEWS, BUT ONLY THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION, WHICH AFFORDS HIM PROTECTION.

(Chaps. xxii. xxiii.)

WE have reached a turning-point; and in now following the course of events, we must direct our attention to this question: —Is there, or is there not, for the Jewish people, any possibility of returning in this interruption brought about in the progress of events by the intervention of the Roman military power? For, by the interference of the Roman Tribune, the Apostle has obtained two additional opportunities of defending himself; the first (xxii. 1—22), before the multitude at the temple-hill —the place where formerly Jeremiah, and Jesus too, had delivered their discourses to Israel,—and the second (xxiii. 1—10), before the Sanhedrim, as once Stephen. Now, there might, after all, be still a possibility that Paul might, by the power of his speech, succeed in tearing off the unhappy veil of delusion which overspread the eyes and hearts of the Jews, and in stilling, by his calmness and clearness, the mad rebellion which had, without reason, been raised against him. The discourses of the

Apostle are, indeed, fully appropriate to the existing circumstances, and well calculated to call forth a corresponding effect.

Let us now, first of all, consider the discourse addressed by the Apostle to the whole people, in the very peculiar position which we have just now been describing. Before entering more minutely upon its contents, we must realise the perfectly skilful and circumspect deportment and presence of mind exhibited by the Apostle, in coming forward on this very peculiar occasion. On the towering height of the castle the Apostle is standing, and beneath him are moving and raging the infuriated multitude, spread over the whole place before the temple, up to the steps of the castle. On the very instant that the man, severely wounded in body and soul, turns his face towards the people, his deportment commands respect, and, by beckoning with his hand, he awes the clamorous people into silence. Paul speaks to the Hebrew people in the Hebrew tongue,—viz., the Aramean popular dialect in use at that time (see Bleek's Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, S. 33, 34; Hug, Enleitung in das N. T. ii. 45, 49, 50). Paul had just before spoken in Greek to the Tribune; and it is probable that, from his frequent intercourse with the Hellenes, this language was, in general, more familiar to him. Hence, in choosing the Aramean dialect for his address to the Jews, he acted with a definite purpose; and the immediate result shows that Paul, in this choice, had acted wisely; for Luke remarks that the great silence which had already been effected was still farther increased when they heard the Hebrew sounds (ver. 2). And the address, "Men, brethren, and fathers"—in which the Apostle exactly coincides with Stephen (see vii. 2)—is in entire harmony with the Apostle's circumspect and commanding deportment. The Apostle, then, does not see, in the crowd, a multitude collected together in a wild and disorderly manner; but a real representation of an organized people, with "fathers," *i.e.*, those who rule, and "brethren," or those who obey; and so plainly does the Apostle regard them in this light, that he at once places himself in, and joins himself to this national organization. Although the Apostle, then, had most keenly felt, in his own body, as well as in the depths of his soul, that the whole national life of Israel was in a state of deep and extensive corruption and

decay,—that this multitude had apostatized from their own true nature,—yet his love is unchanged, his hope indestructible,—and he does not, therefore, give up and separate himself from this people. Yea, at the last moment, before parting for ever, another possibility, and hope of averting this painful separation, spring up to him. The people of Israel at once present themselves to his mind in the light of their Divine predestination and eternal election, and the surrounding multitude appear to him as the representatives of this people.

With respect, now, to the discourse itself, surely no slight evidence of its appropriateness and suitableness is afforded by the circumstance that Baur, as well as Zeller, notwithstanding the prejudices entertained by them and their whole party against all the discourses of Paul, declare that this one may, possibly, have been delivered in the form in which it is now before us (see Baur, der Apostel Paulus, S. 209; Theolog. Jahrbücher 1849, 562). It must not, however, be overlooked that, from a careful examination, Baur, after all, discovers and advances two important objections, one of which Zeller also is rather disposed to receive; so that both of these critics arrive again, after all, at their usual result, viz., that, according to all appearance, this discourse also is a free composition of the writer of the book, and that the apparent appropriateness has its sole foundation in the circumstance, that the apologetic tendency of the writer is here in tolerable harmony with the supposed situation of the Apostle. Now, I think that the peculiarity of the discourse under consideration, as well as its genuineness, will be seen in the clearest light, if we connect our farther discussion with these two objections urged by Baur. Baur is astonished at two things: *First*—that the people, notwithstanding the violent and turbulent excitement in which they were, should have listened so long and so quietly to the hated speaker, of whose death-deserving guilt they were convinced beforehand (see S. 303);—and, *secondly*, that Paul should not have entered at all into the real cause of the hatred of the Jews,—viz., his position with reference to the law (see S. 210). It is only in their connection that the real strength of these two arguments lies; for the quietness of the people is so much the more incomprehensible, the less that the Apostle comes to the point; and the inappropriateness of the discourse is

so much the more incomprehensible, since the people listened quietly. But what of all this, if, upon a more minute examination, it should be discovered that the advice which Baur gives for the occasion would have been quite impracticable; while, on the other hand, that which Paul here brings forward was the only consideration which could have made any impression upon the enraged people? In this case, would not the possibility of a temporary quietness even among the vehemently excited crowd be easily accounted for? But, indeed, the case stands thus, that Paul could not have undertaken any thing more out of place and inappropriate than the development and proof, before the turbulent multitude, of his doctrine concerning freedom from the law. If, even in the assemblies of the faithful, there was the greatest possible difficulty in coming to any agreement upon this point, how can it be imagined that, in such a place, and on such an occasion, Paul could have expected, from such a discussion, any thing else than the very opposite of what he must have wished and hoped for? Besides, by entering into the temple to make common cause with the four Nazarites, Paul had, in fact, just done the utmost of what, in this respect, could be done by him to quiet the Jews. After such a public exhibition, how inexpressibly feeble and unsuccessful would have been every discussion regarding his relation to the law!

There was only one element which, in the existing circumstances, could have made an impression, and, perhaps, have brought about a favourable issue, viz., that of facts. And, indeed, the Apostle has at his command the domain of facts, and avails himself of them with such power that one might well have expected the Jews to bethink themselves, if only they had quietly considered them, and if their minds had not been utterly darkened. It is this sole strength of his whole position, and nothing else, which Paul, in his discourse, quickly perceives, firmly lays hold of, and keeps fast from the beginning to the end.

Baur is quite right in this, that it was not faith in Jesus Christ, by itself, which roused the Jews to such rage against Paul, but his having apostatized from the law. For it is in this light that they view his conduct among the Gentiles—viz., that he disseminates among Gentiles the doctrine that one could have a full share

in the kingdom of God, without having entered into the external communion of Israel by means of circumcision, and an observance of the ordinances of the law; and that this doctrine found such numerous adherents in the countries of the Gentiles, and threatened to spread still farther. Now Paul is so happily situated, that he is able incontestibly to prove to the whole multitude that he had himself formerly entertained and expressed opinions entirely the same as those now given forth by the Jews, in their violent excitement against his present proceedings. He, evidently, cannot do anything more effective than bring this proof before the assembled Jews. He now adduces everything which goes to prove that, originally, he was like the Jews who surrounded him: —his Jewish descent,—his education at Jerusalem, which he opposes, by means of δέ, to his birth in a city of Cilicia, and thereby makes up for the defect which might attach to the latter circumstance. His having been born in the *diaspora* could, by itself, indeed, be all the less construed to his disadvantage, inasmuch as it was just the Hellenists who had proved themselves to be the most zealous, both against Stephen (see vi. 9—14), and against Paul (xxi. 27). While Paul, in his address to the Tribune (xxi. 39), does not, when referring to his native place, omit to point out the distinguished rank (see Winer, bibl. Realw. ii. 565), he here passes over in silence the importance of the heathenish city; and in this circumstance we have a new proof of the clearness and self-possession with which the Apostle here speaks, and of the accuracy with which Luke reports. After this, Paul, in ver. 3, points out the important circumstance that he had been brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, the celebrated teacher of the law (see Othonis, lex. Rabbin. p. 224), and had been brought up and educated according to the full rigour of the law of his fathers. Now it is true that all these things,—his Jewish descent, his residing at Jerusalem, his education in the school of Gamaliel—might have met with internal disinclination; in which case nothing of it would have been received by, or have taken effect upon, Paul. But just the reverse was the case. Paul designates his internal disposition of mind which accompanied the outward circumstances of his life just mentioned, by the words: ζηλωτὴς ὑπάρχων τοῦ θεοῦ, and, in order that not one of those who were present might remain in doubt as to what he thereby understood, he adds: καθὼς

πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐστε σήμερον. He calls his former views "a zeal towards God;" inasmuch as he concurred in the opinion of the Jews concerning Stephen, and recognised in the Gospel of Jesus an attack upon the law and the temple, and hence, also, upon the God of Israel; and for this very reason he hated this Gospel. It is remarkable, however, that even this highest degree of exasperation and wickedness which the Jews evidently manifested at the moment, is, notwithstanding, designated by him by a name which implies a certain amount of palliation for it (see Rom. x. 2; 1 Tim. i. 13). We see from this, that the Apostle not only holds fast the hope of Israel's conversion, when, untouched by the hostility of the Jews, he is left to his quiet meditation—as, for instance, when he wrote the Epistle to the Romans—but that he also views the sad and miserable state of Israel with the eyes of this hope, even when he has to taste the whole bitterness of the hatred and wickedness of the Jews,—a hope which holds out, to the entire people, the same transition from the sin of unbelief and ignorance to the experience of the transforming grace of God; such a transition as the Apostle formerly experienced in his own person, as a bright example for all who shall hereafter believe (see 1 Tim. i. 13—16).

In his former conduct against the Church of Christ, there was thus contained a strong apologetic argument for his present position towards the Jews; and, farther, in the similarity of his former conduct to that which the Jews were now exhibiting, there was contained a hope for the conversion of the whole people. It is these circumstances which made it possible for him to mention here, in the presence of the whole assembly, the fact of his having persecuted the Church of Christ (vv. 4, 5)—the recollection of which was always the occasion of grief and shame to him (see 1 Cor. xv. 7—10). By this notice of it, he shows that the zeal for God was in him not only a tendency and disposition of mind, but that it completely filled and moved his whole life in former times; so that what now animated the whole multitude of the Jews had not only been known by him long before, but had been experienced also with remarkable strength and violence. And even in this, the circumstance is again in his favour, that this zeal for God which showed itself in persecuting the way of faith, could appeal to a further witness, and that the most weighty which

could at all be imagined in this place—viz., the testimony of the High Priest and of the whole Sanhedrim. After such a confession on the part of Paul, the whole assembly could not but feel that all which now agitated and moved their hearts would be so far from being unknown to Paul, that he must have felt and experienced it all in a far higher degree. But the main strength of every discourse consists in this, that he who speaks and produces the impression on the hearers should himself know what it is that leads and determines their hearts,—that he should know it in such a way as to have overcome the evil tendencies, while, on the other hand, he should possess and cherish the good ones in their original and peculiar power. By thus incontrovertibly proving that his former views, which are now, however, forsaken, were entirely similar to those now maintained by the assembly, Paul has, no doubt, gained such an influence over his hearers that they cannot refuse to listen to him, now that he is about to state to them the remarkable change of which he has been the subject.

Paul, it is true, will be compelled to relate a miracle to the Jews, just because his conversion, and call to the Apostleship, have taken place by an evident miracle. Now, if Paul were standing on the Areopagus of Athens with this account, his position would, indeed, be rather difficult and hazardous, for a simple statement of the miraculous vision of the Lord which had appeared to him could not have claimed attention and sympathy there; and Baur would be right in wondering at the quietness and forbearance of the people. But we are now in Jerusalem, and on the sacred hills of Jehovah. As in Athens, even at the time of her decline, science and art always found a sympathizing disposition; as in Rome, external power and internal right showed their attractive power, down even to her last days;—so it is here with the word and works of God, the pure and full sound of which must yet penetrate, at least for a moment, even through the darkest veils and coverings of a carnal and unbelieving heart. This indestructible susceptibility for the works and word of God has been implanted in this people from the very beginning. It is true that they are at present scattered over the whole face of the earth, and widely separated from the holy presence of God on earth, by an internal chasm; but when the work of God among

the Gentiles shall be finished, they will, notwithstanding that their hearts are hardened and shut up in unbelief, recognize, by means of this susceptibility, at once and unanimously, the completion of the present working and acting of God among the nations.

It cannot, indeed, be expected that the account of every miracle should have had the effect of inducing the turbulent crowd to listen quietly, were it even for a few moments only; but the account given by Paul is so arranged as necessarily to compel Jewish ears to listen. By his introductory confession, St Paul has already established an ascendancy over their minds; and now he knows how to relate the miracle of God, which happened to him, in such a manner that the Jews cannot allow their unbridled passions to carry them away, till they perceive what is the Apostle's aim and object in bringing the statement of those Divine revelations before them. The Apostle appeals to a threefold Divine testimony; so that, according to the provisions of the law of Israel (see Deut. xix. 15; Matt. xviii. 16; 1 Tim. v. 19; 2 Cor. xiii. 1), the matter may well be considered as established. The first testimony is the Lord's appearing to him from Heaven, when he was on his way to Damascus (vv. 6—10), the second is the account concerning Paul which was revealed to Ananias from on high (vv. 11—16), and the third is the repeated appearance and command of the Lord at Jerusalem (vv. 17—21). After Paul had impressed it upon the consciences of his hearers, and proved that, formerly, he was, in disposition and mind, like them, they can no longer summarily reject these simple statements as self-delusion, or even as a wilful deception, without injuring themselves,—altogether apart from the consideration, that a trustworthy account of what the Lord has done in an extraordinary manner in order to usher in a new period in the development of His kingdom will, at all times, claim the attention of Israel. But St Paul has, moreover, taken care that, in order to increase their force, and their impressiveness upon his hearers, a peculiar feature be added to each of these testimonies. In mentioning the first appearance of the Lord, he directs attention to the circumstance that he was not alone (ver. 9), but in the company of several from Jerusalem; that the appearance had not happened at night, when one is more easily exposed to deception, but in clear day, just at noon (ver. 6). He then adds, farther, that his companions

also had had some impression of the extraordinary event which had occurred to him, as far, at least, as their eyes—the surest witnesses—were concerned (ver. 9); and this appeal to what others,—and those, Jews of Jerusalem—knew and had experienced, could certainly not fail to make an impression.

The second testimony to which Paul appeals is that of Ananias. This is proved by the miracle performed by him, by a mere word, upon blind Paul (ver. 13). By this miracle, Ananias had formerly proved his Divine mission in the presence of Paul; and must not the account of this self-experienced miracle still produce the same effect upon the assembled Jews? Subsequent to that appearance of the Lord which had crushed him, Paul has done nothing for himself; the change in his entire former position takes place first through Ananias. The Jews must be convinced that Paul has not wantonly stept out of his former position, but only after he has ascertained the will of God, by a direct Divine revelation, and through the medium of human instrumentality. And the latter was introduced and confirmed not by a miracle only, but also by the whole personal position and conduct of Ananias: and this, again, was a circumstance specially calculated, and added for the sake of the hearers. For St Paul expressly points out that Ananias was a devout man according to the law, that he had a good report of all the Jews who dwelt at Damascus (ver. 12), and, finally, that he had ascribed the conversion and calling of Saul to the God of their fathers (ver. 14). Accordingly, he who first brought Paul to another course of life and labour is a man to whom the Jews at present cannot well refuse their esteem; and the circumstance that they must now hear from the mouth of Ananias that the God of their fathers, and not some strange god, had appointed Saul of Tarsus to be a witness unto all men of what he had seen and heard, could not fail to make them consider whether, indeed, their zeal for the glory of God gave them any title to impugn the Apostolic ministry of St Paul.

The third testimony is the command which was given to Paul immediately by the Lord. By two circumstances, this testimony is rendered especially important to the Jews. Paul remarks that this second appearance of the Lord had happened to him when he had returned to Jerusalem, and while he was

praying in the temple. 'For this evidently indicates that, whatever had happened to the Apostle at Damascus, he had not thereby been estranged from the love of Jerusalem and its temple, nor from prayer in the sanctuary of Jehovah; that hence, notwithstanding his faith in Jesus, he had neither abandoned nor denied his Judaism. But then it must appear so much the more significant, that just here in Jerusalem, in the temple, and while engaged in prayer, he received the immediate command from the Lord to labour among the Gentiles, and, hence, to enter upon that ministry which the Jews considered as irreconcileable with a belief in the God of Israel. For so much must after all, be certain, and indisputable to pious Jews, that a Divine appearance which happens to a believing and praying Jew in the temple of Jerusalem cannot but be a revelation from the God of Israel. But the Apostle adds still a second circumstance, in order that he may give even greater importance to this appearance in the temple of the Jews. He remarks, namely, that even when God thus, a second time, directed him to go to nations that were far hence, he could not quietly resign himself to the appointment, till he had ventured to bring before the Lord in Heaven his own thoughts, which were directed towards a ministry among the Jews, and which were flattering him with bright hopes of success from such a ministry. In mentioning this, his last and boldest resistance, Paul also brings to their remembrance the pleasure which he had felt in stoning Stephen, and thus crowns what he had formerly said about his persecuting zeal; while the mention of his resistance to the command of the Lord was quite suited once more to show to the Jews with what indissoluble ties of love the Apostle was still attached to his nation; and that this love had, by no means, and, least of all, been cooled, by his faith in Jesus.

It was with a wise caution, as we have seen, that the Apostle had so arranged his speech, as that it might produce such impressions; and we may, with certainty, assume that their effect cannot have been altogether lost. But all these good impressions are effaced, as with one stroke, when there appeared the result of the third testimony, and, hence, of the other two also, viz., the Divine mission to the Gentiles who were afar off (ver. 21). As, once, Jesus in His whole personal appearance and presence, in

His love and faithfulness, had been the stumbling-block and stone of offence; so, also, it is just that work, in which the redeeming love and saving omnipotence of the Lord reigning in Heaven manifests itself most unequivocally in the present, viz., the conversion of the far-off heathen whom Paul had just brought to Jerusalem, and presented as living witnesses of the wonderful working of God, and as an earnest of the fulfilment of all prophecies, and who, for that very reason, were most perfectly fitted to exert a new, and salutary, and converting influence upon Israel, who hitherto could not be moved by any other means of grace,—it is just this work of Christ upon which the Jews stumble and fall anew; and, now that the last means have been employed, their fall is deep—even to destruction.

How deeply soever the conduct and words of the Apostle may have pierced their hearts and consciences, this much is certain of the mind of the Jews:—that there never could nor should exist a kingdom of God among the Gentiles, whether they live in the midst of the circumcision, or at a distance from the sanctuary of Israel; and, hardened in their hearts, they have resolved not to permit any one to teach otherwise. It is from this carnal, national pride, supported from without by God's past dealings with Israel, and the predicted future of that people, that we can account for the fact, that no sooner is the word of the Divine mission to the far-off Gentiles uttered, than there arise again the tumultuous cries (ver. 22) which render any continuation of the discourse altogether impossible. Now, we know, from other sources, that the people absolutely refused to recognise the will and hand of God in the Apostolic ministry of Paul among the Gentiles, and in the conversion of the Gentiles; and hence, it is quite natural that the suppressed rage should have again broken out, just at this point. Baur and Zeller have, therefore, no reason whatever to find, in this circumstance, any argument for doubting the genuineness of the discourse under consideration, and the account which accompanies it (see Der Apostel Paulus, S. 209; Theol. Jahrb. loc. cit. S. 562). We may even expect it, as a matter of course, that the rage of the Jews will still increase, and go beyond all bounds. They plainly and distinctly declare that it is not fit that he should live; inasmuch as they, of course, regard him as a false prophet, and a seducer of the people, and,

hence, according to the provisions of the law (Deut. xiii. 1—11), must consider him worthy of death. The subsequent acts, viz., the crying out, the casting off of their clothes, the throwing of dust into the air (ver. 23) are not farther explained. It will, therefore, be simplest and most appropriate to adopt that explanation which is most obvious from the context, and not to force upon them any interpretation which is merely arbitrary. Along with Grotius and Meyer, I accordingly understand these impetuous acts to indicate a preparation for stoning the Apostle. The objection of De Wette,—that the Jews could not think of such an execution, inasmuch as they knew Paul to be in the hands, and under the protection of, the Tribune, is irrelevant; for, in their unbridled rage, the Jews did not indicate what they intended to do, but what they would like to do, and what they considered to be necessary and indispensable. This fresh eruption of fury again shows, most evidently, to what Paul would have been exposed under the hands of the Jews, and that his imprisonment by the Roman Tribune was the only means of saving him from death. The Tribune, seeing that Paul's discourse has not been productive of any good understanding, but has only increased the excitement, now orders him to be brought into the camp (ver. 24). But the Tribune is altogether unable to conceive of such a rage of a whole multitude against one man, unless some crime deserving of death be really involved. He has not, it is true, understood the acts of the people, but he has, no doubt, had translated to him the impetuous demand for Paul's death. It is, hence, only an additional proof of his fidelity in the discharge of his duty, as well as of the order pervading this sphere, that he gave orders for a criminal trial in the case of Paul, in order that he might ascertain the cause of such rage on the part of the people (ver. 24). Even here, in the camp of the Gentiles, Paul is exposed to sufferings; and, in such a place, there would have been no cause for astonishment at the sufferings of a servant of God.' But it is just at this juncture that the contrast between the camp of Israel and that of the Gentiles comes out in an aspect altogether new. St Paul appeals to his Roman freedom, according to which it was not lawful to expose those who were possessed of it to scourging, and still less to do so without the preceding process of a trial and sentence (ver. 25). We see here that

Paul is not only acquainted with the general laws in force regarding criminal trials before the cause is decided,—to which law he appeals in xvi. 37,—but that he had also a distinct knowledge of the lex Porcia, and of the leges Semproniae, which prohibited the scourging of Roman citizens. These leges were considered as the palladium of Roman liberty, for which reason Cicero exclaims: "O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium nostrae civitatis! O lex Porcia legesque Semproniae!" and immediately afterwards: "Facinus est vincire civem Romanum, scelus verberari (see Grotius ad ver. 25). Paul, accordingly, is not only very well acquainted with the nature and extent of his rights as a Roman citizen, but knows also how to plead them here, and at the right moment. Calovius has, however, rightly raised the question, why Paul, who, we know, was so ready to suffer everything for the sake of the name of Jesus, did not willingly undergo the sufferings inflicted upon him here, but rather withdrew from them by an appeal to his rights. This question is so much the rather well founded that, in Philippi, we saw Paul submit to scourging, quietly and without objection at first, and urging the legal question, only after he had submitted to it. The answer of Calovius to this question is two-fold, it is true, but in neither part of it is he likely to satisfy any one. The difference of the Apostle's conduct now, and at Philippi, can be satisfactorily accounted for, only from the entirely different positions occupied by him. At Philippi, the Apostle met, for the first time, with the hostile tendency of the world's power, represented by the Romans; and in this first European city which the Apostle of the Gentiles saw, the point at issue just was to manifest the conquering power of the Spirit, when brought in contact with hostility of the world. In such a position, it was incumbent upon him to bear the sufferings, in order that he might manifest, by his immoveable and unshaken constancy, and joyfulness, the most certain and eventful conquest of all the powers of injustice and hostility in the world. But here, everything is otherwise. Here, in Jerusalem, St Paul has to bear witness before the Jews; and he has done so by word and deed, in secret and in public, and—apart from the satisfaction experienced by him in the houses of Mnason and of James, which, however, could serve only to make so much the more bitter and sad what he afterwards experienced—the last

and prevailing effect was the most open enmity and persecution of the whole people. They had already laid hands on him for the purpose of killing him, and, even at the last moment, had no greater regret than that Paul could not be reached by the stones which the zealous Jews had thrown upon him. The Apostle has thus here borne both his testimony and his sufferings; and the measure of his sufferings was now full. Paul might, and could understand, even now, that his imprisonment by the Roman soldiers had been ordered for his protection and deliverance. Yea, should it not have even already struck him that this must needs be the consequence of the wrestling and prayers of the Churches for which he had entreated (see Rom. xv. 30)? If thus he was entitled to regard the camp of the Roman garrison on the castle of Antonia as a refuge and shelter from the rage of the Jews, prepared for him by God, and as a place of rest obtained, after his exhausting struggles, by the prayers of his brethren, why should he have refused to have recourse to the means at his disposal, to be spared the torture, by an appeal to his well-acquired rights? And he could have the less hesitation in doing so, inasmuch as in this sphere, no testimony of his faith had preceded, which he might have been able to confirm by his sufferings.

What a remarkable contrast between the two camps is now, however, brought out by this appeal of the Apostle to the law prevailing in the Roman empire! In both camps, Paul lies under the gravest suspicion; in the camp of the Jews, the suspicion of being a despiser of the holy law, a seducer, and a false prophet; in the camp of the Gentiles, the suspicion of a crime against human and civil order—a crime worthy of death. In the camp of Israel, Paul has tried his utmost to free and clear himself from the suspicion resting upon him; he has taken upon himself to fulfil the law in the strictest and most unequivocal manner; in a public speech he has appealed, for the proof of his innocence, to facts altogether undeniable, and to testimonies ever valid in Israel. All this, however, was not only in vain; it even strengthened their hatred and enmity. The more powerfully and convincingly that Paul vindicates and defends himself, the more enraged and furious the camp of Israel becomes. But how entirely different it is in the Roman camp! Paul has scarcely opened his mouth in order to appeal to the order prevalent there,

when at once they let him alone; the centurion at the same moment applies to the Tribune and says: what dost thou intend to do? for this man is a Roman? Although by birth and habit Paul was a Jew, and, hence, very much a stranger to, and at a great distance from, the centurion, yet he does not for a moment doubt Paul's statement, and is, moreover, so impressed with the validity and peremptory character of the law to which Paul has pointed, that he supposes, as a matter of course, that the proceedings which had been ordered against Paul, cannot be continued. Without any delay, the Tribune himself now approaches, and asks the Apostle whether he is a Roman (ver. 27); and when this question is answered in the affirmative, the Tribune merely wonders that the man whom, up to this moment, he had considered as a rebel, or a robber and murderer, should possess a dignity which had cost himself so large a sum of money (ver. 28). This candid confession of the Tribune furnishes the Apostle with an opportunity of declaring that he possessed the Roman freedom by birth (see Winer, bibl. Realwörterb. ii. 212). This assurance is not only at once believed by the Tribune; but it has also the immediate effect, that the soldiers, who were already prepared to subject the Apostle to a criminal trial, desist from their business without even waiting for an order. We thus perceive that, within this sphere, there prevail laws which are of higher authority than persons, and that the persons feel themselves involuntarily called upon to be subservient to, and to realize these laws. It is in this circumstance that we discern the reason why the supreme commander in this territory is struck with fear for having ordered Paul, a Roman citizen, to be bound, before he had been examined and convicted; although it is only at this moment that he learns that the Jew is endowed with the Roman freedom. It is the law and order of the Roman empire which here meet us; and we should, even here, acknowledge that, in this order, there is some benefit for the kingdom of God. From the beginning, everything in the camp of Israel was ordained for the purpose of realizing the kingdom of God on earth; but neither the holy law and order, nor the humble fear of these, prevail any longer there. The carnal will of single individuals, and of the majority, has obtained the ascendancy, and lays waste the soil prepared by God for the reception of His

kingdom. St Paul, the blessed instrument for promoting in the present, the kingdom of God, has there not even liberty allowed him to live, far less to carry out the will of God. But, in the Roman camp, everything is ordained and ready for conquering the world; the glittering arms of the rough and stern warriors are the instruments of the Ruler of the Universe for accomplishing among all nations, and in all countries, His will, as the highest and ultimate, and for casting down to the ground whatsoever exalts itself against it. But, with all this, there is here an established and well-regulated law and order, to which every one, even the highest, must submit; and it is this constitution of the Roman empire, and this order of the law, which revive Paul and grant security to him, who had been devoted to the death of stoning by the Jews.

In the course of events we have now reached that crisis in which this contrast between Rome and Jerusalem, which here presents itself in the two camps, is to manifest itself fully, and in every point of view. For this reason, one farther attempt is communicated, in which Paul undertakes to appeal to the Divine ordinance in Israel; and the result, in this case also, is none other than that the rage of the Jews, which seemed already to have reached the highest pitch, is, nevertheless, anew increased. After Paul has spent the night in the security of the Roman camp, the Tribune is, on the next morning, anxious to hear at length something certain about Paul (ver. 30); for, after the previous days' conduct of the Jews against Paul, it appears to him, after all, to be absolutely impossible but that he should have incurred some guilt. He supposes that a trial before the highest court of the Jews would most readily throw light upon this point; and in this we recognise a Roman state-official's mode of proceeding—considerate, and directed to the object of discovering the right. He commands, therefore, the Sanhedrim to assemble in its usual place of meeting, and Paul to be brought down to this meeting (ver. 30). It might appear strange that he only now looses Paul from his bonds, although, in the evening, he had feared that in this he had gone too far; but, with Meyer, we may well explain this from a certain stubborn consistency, in consequence of which the Roman commander cannot bring himself down to expose himself, by the immediate loosing of the

bonds of a Jew. But Luke by no means intends to present to us the *ideal* of a state, but rather the *real* empire and manner of the Romans; and we are to learn that there is in it room for the development of the kingdom of God, for this reason, that it is not arbitrariness and passion which rule there, but a higher order in the law. In the very same context, however, Luke does not pass over in silence the weakness of this single individual in this kingdom—of which we shall, by and by, obtain still clearer proofs—and from this circumstance we learn that he holds up the existing Roman empire, *notwithstanding* all its weaknesses and defects which were sufficiently known to every one, as that territory within which the real nature of the kingdom of God is farther to develop itself, and come to its completion, after having been cast out from that place which was expressly ordained and prepared for it.

We have now, then, to represent to ourselves the Apostle Paul in that assembly in which Jesus and Stephen had once stood; and the sole reason why Paul does not share the same fate which the Lord and His first martyr had to endure, is the circumstance that he has been brought into the hall of the Sanhedrim by Roman soldiers, and stands there in the presence, and under the guardianship, of the Roman Tribune. Now, one might be surprised that Paul should begin his defence before the Sanhedrim, without any mention being made of his having been called upon to do so. One might be disposed to see, in this, a neglect of forms, on the part of the Apostle; and this so much the rather, because the address: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (ver. 16) has also been found to be unusual; and De Wette distinctly affirms that a formal and solemn address, such as iv. 8, vii. 2, was not a petition of favor, as Meyer thinks, but a simple observance of the form. The impression is thus produced, that Paul was here in a state of excitement, had not kept himself free from passion, and had, especially in the strong address to Ananias the High Priest (ver. 3)—to express it mildly—not duly distinguished between the person and the office. In the answer of the Apostle (ver. 5), they farther find his own confession of his mistake, and believe that, with the open recantation of his error, all had been done, and placed again on its proper footing. We shall afterwards see, in detail, how ill all this agrees with itself. In the meantime, however, we

must inquire, in general, whether such a notion of the Apostle's conduct during these proceedings before the High Council can, *a priori*, claim our approval. So much is clear, that this impression regarding the Apostle—which, by no means, serves to exalt him—must find a strong support in the account itself; otherwise, we should not find it already existing so early in the Church, as, *e.g.* with Severus (in the Catena) and Jerome (see Wetstein ad ver. 5). As the positions are very similar, let us, therefore, in the first place, look back once more to the Apostle's conduct on the preceding day, in order that we may form an idea of his disposition of mind, and of his position with reference to the present high assembly.. We found that the Apostle Paul, in the view of the high festival, with his four Jewish brethren, applied himself in the temple to the holy purifications and sacrifices, and, in all probability, like James (see Eusebius, H. E. ii. 23), prayed to God for his people, and, while thus engaged, could not fail to be most violently agitated, both inwardly and outwardly, by the storm breaking in upon him. But if, nevertheless, we consider his whole conduct among Jews and Gentiles, we cannot but acknowledge that he has complete command over himself, that he manifests, in every word, and in every feature, the highest degree of calmness, of presence of mind, of love and wisdom; just because the agitation of his mind is not of a selfish nature, but had its origin in love. Now, how very improbable would it be in itself that, on the following day, he should have lost this equanimity of his, which commanded the esteem of both Jews and Gentiles,—that he should have wavered, or rather tottered, between passionate violence and vulgar prudence; for in this light his conduct in the presence of the Jewish Sanhedrim is frequently represented! And is it indeed possible so easily to satisfy oneself, in the face of the inferences which are drawn from such a procedure on the part of the Apostle, by Arminians, against the doctrine of the Church on inspiration? Is it then indeed so entirely without foundation, that Baur (see Apostel Paulus S. 207), and Zeller (Theolog. Jahrbüch. 1849 S. 563) have declared that, to admit, as Neander and Olshausen have so liberally and readily done, that the conduct of the Apostle was passionate and rash, is in contradiction to the whole views and principles of these theologians. The remark made by Olshausen is, indeed, correct,

when he says, that we do not assume moral perfection in the Apostles; but not every moral defect in them can, for this reason, be unhesitatingly admitted. We must, after all, make a difference between the servants of God under the Old Testament, and those under the New Testament. In David, Solomon, Jonah, we find moral imperfection just within that sphere which belonged to their vocation and office; and from this we see that the Divine person, who has power over the office, has not yet appeared, and cannot, therefore, live and work in them. But, under the New Testament, and in the case of men called in an extraordinary manner, we cannot, for this very reason, admit of any such moral imperfection and weakness as must be regarded as a detriment to their vocation and office. In this respect, that which the Apostle, towards the end of his course, confesses of himself, holds true: *πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με* (Phil. iv. 3), and: *οἶδα . . . . κατὰ τὴν ἀποκαραδοκίαν καὶ ἐλπίδα μου, ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ αἰσχυνθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ἐν πάσῃ παῤῥησίᾳ, ὡς πάντοτε, καὶ νῦν μεγαλυνθήσεται Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ σώματί μου, εἴτε διὰ ζωῆς εἴτε διὰ θανάτου* (Phil. i. 19, 20). Peter's ambiguous conduct at Antioch seems, indeed, to be opposed to this assertion; but, if we consider it more minutely, Peter, when among the Gentiles in Antioch, is no longer within the sphere of his original vocation and office. If, therefore, he errs, to some extent, within that territory, there are presupposed the completion and correction by Paul, by means of which Peter is introduced to his new career. But if we conceive of the matter, as Jerome does in the passage to which reference has been already made, viz., that Paul ought to have suffered, before the High Council of Israel, with the same silent meekness as Jesus once did in the same place, then it is obvious that, with his vehement words, the Apostle discharged his duty only very indifferently, or, rather, that he failed in it altogether. And can we, indeed, console ourselves for this, and quiet ourselves with the thought of Jerome: "We do not detract any thing from the merit of the Apostle, but we exalt the glory of the Lord, who, having suffered on the cross, overcomes the injuries and frailty of the flesh?" If this strengthening power and overcoming of the flesh were only with Christ, and did not pass to those whom He has placed on the theatre of this world, just for the purpose of manifesting the power of His Spirit in the weakness of the flesh,

He would not be wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption (see 1 Cor. i. 30); and His glory would, therefore, not be indeed raised, but rather abased by such weakness on the part of His Apostle.

We have, moreover, an express promise from the Lord himself, entitling us to suppose such a sufficient and efficient support of the Spirit for the Apostles. When He sent them forth for the first time, He gave them, for all future time, not His directions only, but His promise also, which, among other things, contains this too: *ὅταν δὲ παραδιδῶσιν ὑμᾶς, μὴ μεριμνήσετε πῶς ἢ τί λαλήσητε· δοθήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, τί λαλήσετε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ λαλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ὑμῖν* (see Matt. x. 19, 20). It is evident that such a position is prominently pointed out by the Lord, in which man has the greatest difficulty in successfully maintaining perfect equanimity, viz., when, just on account of his conduct and character, he is in danger of being given up to the highest power on earth which is in a state of rebellion against the kingdom of God. The Lord at once tells the Apostles that they will be brought into such positions, and demonstrates to them the necessity of such being their fate, from the whole relation which they are to occupy towards the world (see Matt. x. 10—18). In the course of the history of the development of the primitive Church, we have found it sufficiently evident, that the Lord's prophecy of the tribulations to come upon His messengers, through the instrumentality of the ruling powers of the earth, was soon fulfilled. And, from the same course of the Church's development, we have had occasion to perceive with equal plainness, that the Lord's promise also, given with a view to these tribulations, has been fulfilled. Unquestionably the most important point in the development of the primitive Church is this, that the onward course of the Church does not keep within that line which was marked out by the whole past history of Israel, as well as by the primitive Apostolic office; but that, led by the free Spirit of Him who reigns in heaven, it opens up paths to itself into the world of the Gentiles and of the isles, without Israel, and without the Israelitish Apostolic office. And if we ask, now, for the beginnings of this free tendency resting on the foundation of the eternal Spirit, we are led into the assembly-hall of the Sanhedrim.

It was here where first John and Peter, opposed, to a decree of this highest court of the people of God, the words: "Judge ye yourselves, whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God" (iv. 19). It was in the same place that Peter, with all the other Apostles, began another discourse with the emphatic sentence: "We ought to obey God rather than men" (ver. 29). And it was here that Stephen once stood, and with the glorified face of an angel, and with holy zeal, spake to the assembled brethren and fathers (vii. 1): "Ye stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye" (vii. 51).

This regardless judgment of the Apostolic men respecting the position of the Sanhedrim, the supreme court of the people of God,—this decided rejection of its authority, and their confident appeal to conscience in opposition to this highest authority, must be regarded as the germ, and first beginnings of that firm position which the Apostolic leaders of the Church in Jerusalem know how to maintain in times calling for decision. It is thereby that a secure background of order resting on the principle of the spirit and of liberty, is afforded to the development of the Gentile Churches. This we could not fail to see when the Gentile congregations in the house of James were described. And these first rays of light which illuminated the dark path of the Church through the lands of the isles and of the Gentiles were sunk, by the Holy Ghost, into the souls of Apostolic men, just in those moments when they were standing in their own defence in presence of the rulers of Israel. It was just at those moments when their whole outward and natural existence was threatened and shaken to its foundation by the power of the world, to which external and bodily things are subject, that the powerr of the Spirit was manifested to them, as a power resting on itself, requiring nothing, creating and regulating everything from itself. This illumination of the Holy Spirit, which manifests itself through the Apostles, in the very face of the threatening power of the highest Jewish court, is intimately connected with the whole internal disposition of these men. There is not the slightest trace of passion in them; on the contrary, we find everything in them subject to the guidance and influence of the Spirit; or, we ought rather to say,

it was just because they were, to such an extent, guided and determined by the Spirit in these decisive moments, that the flesh which, in its whole existence, was attacked by the highest power of the world, had no ascendancy at all over them. Thus no disturbance or interruption whatsoever of the illumination of the Spirit accompanying them could take place, and, therefore, they could not but utter that word which corresponded to the existing relation of the Spirit and flesh; and this word, farther, they could not fail to utter in the precise form which was required by the circumstances at the moment. Can we now think ourselves entitled to suppose an inferior degree of the support of the Holy Spirit for Paul, for the hour of his defence before the Sanhedrim of Israel? The Apostolical vocation of Paul, too, it is true, takes place, and begins in secret, and is kept back in secret for a time; but after the period for the manifestation of the spiritual, Apostolical dignity has arrived, it breaks forth as plainly and as brightly as in the case of the other Apostles (see 2 Cor. xii. 12). But the Apostle Paul would evidently here appear to be forsaken by the Spirit, were we to imagine that, somehow, he was shaken at the sight of the Sanhedrim, and lost his firmness and calmness, so that he needed an apology before that assembly.

Or, should we say that the Apostle Paul, as the Apostle of the Gentiles, was properly not in his place here, but that, like Peter at Antioch among the Gentiles, he did not here, among Jews, feel a safe ground, and, as Olshausen expresses himself, had been brought back to his proper position, only by being reminded of the word of Scripture, Exod. xxii. 28? This analogy is inadmissible, for this reason, that, from the beginning, St Paul, in his vocation and office, had a relation to the Sons of Israel (see ix. 15), and that just the same which he here attempts to advance, viz., to bring back Israel to their God by pointing to the grace of God among the Gentiles. We learn it, besides, from the mouth of Paul himself, that he considered his journey to Jerusalem, and his stay there, as intimately connected with his Apostolic ministry (see xix. 21, xx. 22—24). But if such be the case, then everything also which necessarily resulted from this stay must be considered as lying within the sphere of his ministry. *Farther*, —Immediately after Paul's appearance before the Sanhedrim, Luke reports an express word of the Lord, in which the testi-

mony of the Apostle for the Lord at Jerusalem is confirmed (see xxiii. 11). In the supposition that Paul's disposition and utterance before the Sanhedrim were disturbed by passion, we can recognise no other view than one which would be directly opposed to what, according to the intimations of Scripture, we know regarding the marks of an Apostle. Or, *finally*, should Olshausen's remark that no doctrinal points are here in question, be able to deliver us from this contradiction? That might be sufficient, were we not, by such an assertion, led to a distinction which has no place whatsoever in the territory of sacred history, and of Scripture. For, as we have already remarked on a former occasion, the truth, of which Scripture treats, has not at all an abstract form. It is neither a doctrine, nor a series or system of doctrines; but it appears in a historical form, and this historical character is essential to it. It is, therefore, in this territory, altogether inadmissible to make any such distinction with respect to doctrinal points, as if the extraordinary illumination chiefly referred, or was limited to them.

If, then, the state of the case were really such as many interpreters of ancient and modern times have assumed, viz., that in the account under consideration, we cannot escape the confession of a passionate rashness in the conduct of the Apostle, I should then find no injustice whatever in the claim which the criticism on this passage makes upon the gratitude of theologians, for its efforts to remove the difficulties, by proving the account in question not to be genuine (see Baur, der Apostel Paulus, S. 207). Upon this occasion, also, it will turn out, however, that the services offered, by criticism, to theological science are to be dispensed with, if only the latter would endeavour to see properly with its own eyes, both the entire state of things under the existing circumstances, and, more specially, seek properly to understand, in its details, the communications given in the passage under review.

Luke opens his account by pointing out the steady look of the Apostle upon the Sanhedrim (ἀτενίσας, ver. 1). Now if, in this, there had been nothing beyond an ordinary looking on those around,—which happens as a matter of course, and is to be expected of every one entering an assembly—Luke would evidently not have wasted a word upon it. But since this looking

is here, at the commencement of the discourse, pointed out as significantly as, elsewhere, the opening of the mouth, or the lifting up of the voice, we must ascertain the nature of it from the context; and I do not think that Calovius finds too much in Paul's look when he writes: "This word *ἀτενίσας* expresses the freedom, courage, and confidence of Paul, the consciousness of his innocence, his prudence, and cautious circumspection; so that he suited himself, and his speech and gestures, as it were, to the senses and ears of his hearers" (compare also Bengel and Meyer on this passage). The more that it has been asserted and maintained, as we have seen, that here the passionate excitement of the Apostle appears, the more important must this remark, implied in the very first word of our account, appear to us; for we may, with perfect certainty, infer from it that we ought to believe in the perfect calmness, collectedness, and firmness of the Apostle, on his entrance into the assembly, and in his first utterance. Luke evidently wishes us to consider the circumstance that he now begins his defence without waiting for an express invitation, in connection with this calmness and firmness of his look; for St Paul begins his defence, because, after having thus calmly and consciously looked upon the assembly, he is convinced that it is his duty to break silence. But what is it that leads Paul to this conviction? He evidently imagines the case to stand thus,—that here an occasion is to be afforded to him of continuing and finishing, before the highest tribunal of Israel, and in the solemn hall of assembly, that defence of himself which, on the preceding day, he had commenced publicly, in presence of the whole people, but which he had not been able to conclude, in consequence of the violent interruption. Moreover, he, no doubt, knows that the Tribune, under whose power and protection he has been placed, procures to him this opportunity; inasmuch as he has ordered this meeting of the Sanhedrim for his own information in this cause (xxii. 30). *Finally*—As there is no doubt that Paul at once perceives that the Sanhedrim is far from having, as to his case, come to any clear idea, or to a firm resolution of taking the trial into their hands, or proceeding in it at all,—he sees no obstacle to his resuming his yesterday's speech, and thereby opening the proceedings. The want of form which is implied in his thus commencing, is, hence, by no means the

fault of the Apostle, but is simply the consequence of the indecision and uncertainty of the Sanhedrim,—an indecision and uncertainty which, indeed, are quite distinctly manifested in the farther course of the proceedings. Now, it is quite true that, in the words: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, the Apostle adopts a mode of address to the Sanhedrim in which there is very little solemnity;—that he does not even address this meeting of elders with the same respect as he did the previous day's assembly of the people, where he added καὶ πατέρες to the words ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί. We cannot, by any means, grant to Meyer, that, in the more solemn address which would have brought out the feature of subordination, there would have been implied an undue seeking after favour; for, in that case, this charge could not fail to fall far more heavily upon St Peter, on account of his address in iv. 8. De Wette advances the charge of a neglect of form; but there is no ground whatsoever for this charge. And there is the less ground here, that, afterwards (ver. 6), where the Apostle expressly seeks to conciliate them, he repeats the same address. This latter circumstance leaves no doubt upon our minds, that the Apostle, in addressing them thus simply, does so intentionally. For, evidently, as there were no legal rules regarding the mode of addressing the Sanhedrim, the Apostles take the liberty of following their dispositions, and the impulse of the moment. We see it to be quite natural, therefore, that when the Sanhedrim in Jerusalem had, for the first time, to give a judgment upon the cause of the Gospel, Peter should address the members of it, convened in a solemn meeting, by their formal, official titles. But, from this position of freedom, it is as conceivable that, afterwards, when the Sanhedrim permitted might to take the place of right, Peter, with the other Apostles, should not have used any form of address at all in their final declaration regarding their relation to this court, on the subject of their preaching the Gospel (see ver. 29). Let us now consider that St Paul knows personally the members of the Sanhedrim, from his former relation to them, and that he knows them as those who shed the blood of the faithful witness Stephen, and who afterwards assisted him, by their official power, in the persecution of the faithful. Moreover, from the previous day's excitement and hostility of the whole people, he could not fail to infer that the disposition of the

Sanhedrim was unchanged; for, had it been otherwise, the supreme magistrates in Israel would, and must certainly have shewn, and put in thorough exercise, their power, during the tumultuous movement of the people against Paul, on the temple hill. If then, under these circumstances, Paul contents himself with the general address, he, thereby, of course, does not intend to deny the fact or the right of the members of the assembly holding the position of rulers; but he wishes, thereby, only to intimate that, at the moment, and in existing circumstances, he does not, at the very commencement, feel disposed expressly to acknowledge and declare this position.

If, now, we farther look to the import of the words with which St Paul here begins his defence, we shall find them to be quite appropriate to the circumstances. We at once perceive that Paul here takes a direction altogether different from that which he took in his discourse before the multitude. Before them, he had appealed to the outward facts which marked and determined his conduct; here, on the contrary, he is, from the very beginning, anxious to represent his internal position and disposition. On this point, he sums up everything by saying, that in all good conscience, he had served God until that day (xxiii. 1). On these words, Grotius remarks: "Now, indeed, according to the words of Christ, but formerly as much as he could gather from his Pharisaic teachers. He opposes this to those by whom he was held to be an ungodly man, and an enemy to God." Calvin and Meyer, on the contrary, assert that the appeal to his good conscience can refer to a more recent time only,—to the time after his conversion, inasmuch as Paul frequently accuses himself on account of former times. But we must not forget that, even in that passage, where Paul speaks most unsparingly as to his former condition, he expressly says that he had acted thus in ignorance (see 1 Tim. i. 13—15); just as, in accordance with this, in his previous day's discourse also, he ascribed his persecuting rage against the faithful, to zeal for God (see xxii. 3). We are, accordingly, thereby fully entitled to refer his assertion of a good conscience to the former period of Paul's life also, if only we understand this reference with that modification suggested by the context, which Bengel expresses in the following words: "Inasmuch as he had not thrown off his former good qualities, but had received

better ones, the light from his present state was now reflected upon his previous condition." It is remarked, indeed, that Paul was not accused for that former conduct; but a consideration of it is of great service to him for his defence. He had been accused of having apostatised from the law,—from the God of his fathers —from the holy nationality of Israel; and of having endeavoured to seduce all Jews also, in every land, to the same apostacy (see xxi. 21, 28). According to this charge, it would be necessary that he should have wickedly introduced an irreconcileable separation and breach into the very soul of his whole life. Paul is, therefore, anxious to shew that this view rests on an illusion. He grants that there is the appearance, indeed, of a great contrast betwixt his former and his present life. Formerly, he hated and persecuted to the death the Church of Christ: Now, he seeks to increase and advance it even at the risk of his life. But this contrast is not the result of that assumed separation and breach; for, considered objectively, it is the God of Israel who has determined his life, the past as well as the present;—formerly, by the voice of Moses, and those who sit in Moses' seat (see Matt. xxiii. 21); now, by His voice from Heaven before Damascus, by His accredited servant Ananias in Damascus, and by His appearance in the sanctuary of Israel. In like manner, in a subjective point of view, there is no breach nor contradiction, but a continuous line of a good conscience. As there is no reason for Paul's representing and confessing, to the present assembly, his former conduct, according to its sinful aspect, he can now, in this place, so much the better declare the unity and connection of his inner life, of which, elsewhere too (see Gal. i. 15; 1 Tim. i. 16) he is conscious.

Scarcely has St Paul made this new and important stand in his defence, when the High Priest Ananias commanded them that stood by him to smite him on the mouth. This command of the High Priest has, probably, a twofold signification; *first*, the striking on the mouth is intended to remind the Apostle that, in the meantime, he has to listen, instead of speaking; and, *secondly*, that by his appealing to his good conscience, he could only have uttered a falsehood. It may be that the High Priest is sorely irritated that the hated Paul has, on the ground of existing circumstances, the boldness to open the proceedings; he feels in

that a violation of his own dignity. But as he has neglected the proper moment for taking the initiative, and has thereby induced the Apostle to begin his speech, he ought now to have kept silence, and not to have interrupted Paul in the discourse which he had commenced. This, notwithstanding all their rage and excitement, must have been the opinion of the assembly also; for we do not find that, after this outbreak of wrath on the part of the High Priest, Paul is deprived of his opportunity of speaking. On the contrary, at the second act of the proceedings, Paul again takes the initiative (ver. 6). We may well suppose, moreover, that, instead of quietly listening to the assertion brought forward by Paul, and allowing himself to be thereby instructed upon the point in dispute, the High Priest, occupying the inaccessible position of merely external order, was not able to discern anything else than a vain, or even a hypocritical phrase, in the appeal of apostate Paul to his conscience.

As it is not stated that those who were standing nearest to Paul immediately carried out this command of the High Priest, which evidently proceeded from passion, we may suppose that, on account of what intervenes, the execution has not taken place at all. For, after hearing this order of the High Priest, Paul says: "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall" (ver. 3). Now, this is the expression in which some would discover an excess of passion on the part of the Apostle also. But the form in which this expression of the Apostle appears is as well founded as it is complete; and this, in itself, militates against the supposition of an excess of passion. For the imprecation and announcement of the judgment of Divine retribution are based upon the designation of the High Priest as a whited wall —a designation by which the internal opposition between the appearance and the essential nature is pointed out as the cause of the impending Divine judgment. And in an explanatory clause (ver. 3), Paul distinctly adds and expresses what he really understands by this internal opposition. But, after the strong expression against the High Priest is thus far established and proved, Paul is silent. Now, is there any one who, overcome by passion, has ever expressed himself concerning the real cause with so clear a consciousness, and in a manner so sharply defined? The expression of the Apostle, it is true, is under-

stood by those present as a reviling of the High Priest (ver. 4); and Paul also has nothing to object against this interpretation of his words; for, indirectly, he grants that that which he had said must be regarded as a κακῶς λέγειν (ver. 5). Paul, then, even refuses to allow that the circumstance of his having used, in his hard speech, the form of announcement (μέλλει), and not that of a wish, should be advanced in his favour. And, indeed, this difference does not constitute any essential distinction; for if Paul announces this as a Divine deed, and points out, moreover, a connection, and an essential necessity for such a Divine deed, it is a matter of course, that he says his yea and amen to such Divine deed. He does not, indeed, give expression to that; but this very circumstance may be, to us, an external indication that he is perfectly calm and composed. We can, of course, not be for a moment surprised that those present discover, in these words of the Apostle, a great sin against the High Priest, whom they call, in the full sense of the word, and with full consciousness, the man ordained by God: τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Θεοῦ (ver. 4). They reprove Paul, therefore, for his severe rebuke of the High Priest; and this induces Paul to declare himself still more distinctly regarding his position with respect to Ananias; whilst Luke, by communicating to us the Apostle's defence of his address to the High Priest, has enabled us fully to understand and weigh the importance of the present moment. Paul's declaration: "I wist not, brethren, that he was the High Priest; for it is is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people," places us on that high ground from which we can perceive the bearing of the Apostle's conduct, under the present circumstances, upon the development of the Church. But we have already been frequently compelled to notice that interpreters are wont to be rather negligent and superficial in their views and explanations of those critical and decisive periods in the history and progress of the Church, which are stated by Luke; and hence, we shall not be surprised, if, in this place also, the interpretation given by them of the decisive period in question, should not be very successful. It is singular to observe how very much interpreters are at a loss, and wandering hither and thither, and that, up to the present day, they are far from arriving at a satisfactory solution; which

may be an indication to us that an important period in the course of the Church's history is here in question, and that the reason why they have not been able to come to a right decision here, is not to be sought for in their views of this or that particular point, but in the want of a right point of view generally. I am, therefore, of opinion that it must recommend our view, if we can prove that the proper point from which to regard the passage under consideration, is, as it were, spontaneously suggested by attending to the fundamental thought which pervades this book, and which has hitherto appeared as such.

We must bear in mind that it is the last stretching forth of the merciful hand of God to His lost people,—to His city, gone astray and laden with guilt, which we have to recognize in the present stay of the Apostle Paul at Jerusalem, and in all which is inseparably connected with it, viz., in the testimony which, by his word, he has borne regarding his ministry in the islands of the Gentiles, and in that which he represents and declares, by his companions, and by the gifts from the Gentile congregations, which they offered, and which were destined for the Jewish brethren in the faith dwelling at Jerusalem. If this be kept in view, it then follows necessarily that, in the same measure as this last stretching forth of the merciful hand of the God of Israel is refused by Israel, the severity and wrath of God will manifest themselves. And since we have to consider Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, as he who has to proclaim and transfer the Divine mercy, it must also be his office to point out the judgment of Divine wrath. In this fearful darkness which is gathering over Jerusalem, there is only one ray of light, viz., the faith which overcomes everything, the fire-tried gold of the faith of the small body of the elect who have gathered around James and the elders at Jerusalem, and who hold as firmly by Jesus, the Christ, as they do by Moses, the servant of Jehovah. It is by this little flock of faithful servants of God, that the true Israel is represented. It is they who recognize and praise the work of God among the Gentiles, and offer up sacrifices to the Lord out of the gifts of the Gentiles; and, hence, it is James and his elders who appear as the true and spiritual centre, around which the whole people ought to have gathered and moved. But so much the more striking is the contrast offered by the conduct of those who

by their birth and office, were called to rule and to represent in Jerusalem the people of Israel. While the former praise God for that which He has done through Paul, and honour Paul himself, the latter see, in the Apostle, an apostate and a seducer, and are anxious, by every weapon of cunning and force, to deliver him up to death. In these two contrasts, the present position of Israel is most plainly manifested. Can we then wonder that, in the position which Paul occupies towards them, the Divine judgment, too, should likewise unequivocally manifest itself. In that meeting in the house of James, St Paul humbles himself so much that he even gives up his peculiar position of holding up the liberty of Christ in opposition to the law of Moses, and returns to the exercise of the strictest legal obedience. The liberty of the Spirit has now obtained in the world its full rights, and its independence, since it has been acknowledged by the true representatives of Israel at Jerusalem. The Apostle of this liberty may, therefore, now consider his duty as fulfilled, and may return again to the unchangeable law of liberty (see James ii. 12). By this proceeding, the final calling of Israel, and the reception of the Gentiles into the law and nationality of Israel, have been distinctly recognised. But there is implied in this the necessity that Paul should as distinctly come out, and manifest himself in the presence of the reverse of this spiritual Sanhedrim, viz., in presence of Ananias and of his elders. He entered into the house of James, accompanied by the Gentiles who were converted to God, and brought, along with them, gifts which were destined for Israel; but into the hall of Ananias he comes accompanied by the Roman Tribune and his soldiers (see ver. 10.) While, in the former place, he represents the subordination of his own Apostolic office in the Gentile congregations to the eternal Divine law and ordinances of Israel, he shows here the power which God commands against apostate and unbelieving Israel, and the law and ordinances of the world, which are to take the place of the law and ordinances of God.

This point of view naturally suggests itself by considering the existing circumstances in the light, and from the hints given in the book itself; and it is from this point of view that we must explain the conduct of St Paul before the Sanhedrim, and especially the words just quoted, and which have been interpreted in such

various ways. That which is first of all requisite, is to refute and to reject all the inadmissible expositions of these words. It has been attempted to render it somewhow probable that the hard words of Paul were not directed against the real High Priest; inasmuch as such and such circumstances had been wanting to constitute the office and dignity of a real High Priest; so that Paul might, with full right, have declared that, to his knowledge, Ananias was not in the due possession of the office and dignity of a High Priest. Thus Grotius is of opinion that Paul did not acknowledge Ananias as the High Priest, for this reason, that Ananias had procured this dignity to himself for money; and he (Paul) knew, that, according to the principles of the scribes, such an official was no more to be recognized than an idol. Lightfoot and Capellus are of opinion that Ananias was not the real High Priest, but only his substitute, and that Paul could therefore well say, that his words were not aimed at the real High Priest; inasmuch as he could not, by any possibility, have known that he who was only the substitute should be regarded and treated as the real High Priest,—as he was now told. For all these sophistical evasions and excuses are completely set aside by the designation which Luke himself gives to Ananias from the beginning (ver. 2). By introducing Ananias simply as the High-Priest, Luke distinctly intimates that, as regards the subsequent proceedings, we should not conceive of Ananias in any other light. Others have thought that Paul had not perceived that the command to smite him had proceeded from the High Priest; and, therefore, did not know that the announcement of retribution would fall upon the High Priest. But the main point here concerns not the person from whom the command proceeded, but the individual to whom the threatening word referred; and upon this point, Luke expressly says that Paul, with this address, turned towards Ananias (ver. 8). Some also have referred to the circumstance, that, owing to his long absence from Jerusalem, Paul did not know who, at that time, was High Priest. But it has been properly replied to this argument, that Paul, being, moreover, a scribe, must, in the meeting of the Sanhedrim, have at once recognized the High Priest by his place and deportment. Moreover, in the main question, no change is made by the circum-

stance as to whether Paul, by his speech, hit the High Priest, or some other member of the Sanhedrim; for he was, at all events, a ruler of the people, and Paul himself also supposes this in his words in ver. 3.

Now, as it is thus quite impossible to alter, or to explain away, the sense of this one part of the clause: ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀρχιερεύς, a similar attempt has been made with the other two words: οὐκ ᾔδειν. Many interpreters would understand these words as expressive of the want of proper recollection; so that Paul would thus confess his conduct to have been hasty. But it has been rightly objected to this view, that οὐκ ᾔδειν could not have such a signification; and this has been perceived even by Neander, who formerly approved of this interpretation, although he is thereby compelled to confess that "Paul, in the momentary embarrassment, repented of his excitement, and was only seeking for an excuse." We should have expected to see here the Apostle endowed with the Holy Spirit, in the high and holy dignity of a prophet of God; but, if the account before us be thus understood, St Paul, in the presence of the Jewish Sanhedrim, and of the Roman Tribune, sinks down to the position of passionate excitement, repentance, embarrassment, and falsehood!

In the exposition of the passage before us, interpreters have arrived at such results—partly barren, partly pernicious—only because they have not had the courage boldly to look the Apostle's words in the face, and to take them simply as they stand. This simple sense, indeed, has not escaped many interpreters; and it is only to be regretted that, by not paying attention to the context, they have neglected to give to their view the right emphasis, as well as the right measure of application. The natural meaning of the Apostle's words in question is most simply expressed by Lorinus in the following sentence: "I did not know that he was the High Priest, for, according to his furious mode of speaking, he seems to be, not the High Priest, but a tyrant." For, in the mouth of Paul, a disciple of Gamaliel, a former delegate of the Sanhedrim, the declaration, that he did not know that Ananias was the High Priest, appears utterly absurd and altogether out of the question, if these words be understood literally; while, by such a contrariety between the sound and the sense of the words, every thinking man would necessarily

be led to conclude that some other sense lay hidden beneath the expression. The quotation of the passage of Scripture, moreover, serves the more clearly to call to mind this intended sense. For this passage shows that Paul is fully conscious of the Divine position and sanction of the High Priest. It shows that just the contrary of what many interpreters suppose, is expressed in the words under consideration, viz., that Paul, at the moment, fully acknowledged, and valued according to its Scriptural position the high official standing of the Sanhedrim, and especially of its head. But, according to this view, it would appear that the ground of Paul's threat against the High Priest was not that he had forgotten the office on account of the person, as it is often said, but that the reverse was the case; and that it was just the serious consideration of the high importance of the office which formed the foundation of those threatening words. And do not the threatening words themselves, indeed, lead us to the same view? The address: "Thou whited wall," evidently rests on his acknowledging the dignity of the High Priest; for since, according to this expression, that which alone is bright and glorious in Ananias lies entirely on the surface, it must just be that glory which is reflected upon him as the bearer of the Divine office. And in the passage adduced as proof, the Apostle expressly declares that this is his opinion; for, in that passage, he declares the sitting to judge according to the law to be that which is glorious in the High Priest. Surely this must remind us of the similar declaration of our Lord, in which He calls the Pharisees and Scribes, "whited sepulchres" (see Matt. xxiii. 27), while He had pointed out the incomparably high position and dignity with which the Pharisees and Scribes were invested, as the beginning and end of all His grave charges, and of the woes which He had pronounced upon them (see Matt. xxiii. 1). We learn from this, that it is not the office which protects the person —as is commonly, without making any farther distinction, believed—but just the reverse; that the more the office is holy and divine, the more stern and regardless it is in exposing the person to judgment. But in like manner as, in the threatening words, the consciousness of the glory of the office of the High Priest forms the background, so the consciousness of the sacredness of this office forms the foundation in the words *οὐκ ᾔδειν*. It is just

because Paul has so high an opinion of the justice and moral elevation and independence of a High Priest, that he has not been able to recognise the High Priest in Ananias, and that because of the passionate and illegal manner in which he acted. Ever since the time of Calvin—who refers to Augustine—down to that of Meyer, this sense of the words has been commonly called ironical. Although I cannot deny the use of irony (for it is undeniable that this mode of speaking is found with Paul, and that, too, in a connection altogether serious *e.g.*, 2 Cor. xii. 13), with Calovius, who considers such a view as inconsiderate and jesuitical; or with Baur and Zeller, who would find in it something unbecoming the dignity of the Apostle; yet I believe that this designation is not fitly chosen for the passage before us, inasmuch as Paul has here so arranged his words, that no reasonable man would ever think of understanding the expression οὐκ ἤδειν literally; and that there does not, therefore, exist the slightest ambiguity.

We thus really find here what, according to the progress of the development, we were entitled to expect, *i.e.*, the perfecting of that principle which came out at the first conflicts of the Apostles with the Jewish authorities, viz., that even the highest authorities on earth—the assembly sitting in the seat of Moses—must always be judged according to the living word of God; and must be viewed and treated in its human character only, wheresoever it stands in opposition to those rules which have been laid down for it in the word of God. We here find this principle fully developed; for the security—one might almost say the dexterous manner—with which Paul here makes use of it, presupposes the most complete and long attained appropriation of this principle. It cannot, it is true, be every man's business, nor can it be deemed appropriate and admissible, in all places and at all times, to maintain this principle against the temporary holders of secular power and authority. But Paul we have learned to regard as the present bearer of God's message to Jerusalem and Israel. In the same manner as the Psalmists, because they were furnished with the Divine office and commission, were entitled and compelled to speak, in the Spirit, words of threatening and cursing—a thing not permitted to others in a different position—(see J. A. Cramer, Einleitung in die Psalmen, S. 118—123, new

edition); so St Paul, also, bears a dignity which could be laid only on his shoulders. And the circumstances of time and place were, as we have seen, as extraordinary. It is true, that, on the other hand, also, it must be kept in view that the effect of the principle pointed out can never be so thorough-going as it was in the case before us. For here it comes into contact with the bearer of the highest authority which can be imagined on earth, and of which the Lord himself had, shortly before His death, said to His Apostles "All, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe, and do" (see Matt. xxiii. 3). Although, therefore, it cannot possibly be the business of every man, nor of every place, nor of every time, to subject to the judgment of the word of God those who sit in Moses' seat, yet there are inferior seats, which are also invested with Divine authority; and in reference to these, it may, perhaps, be permitted to some one, in the proper place and at the proper time, to bring to a trying comparison the Divine dignity of those seats, with those who sit on them, and to express, without reserve, and with the fullest confidence, the result of that comparison. Notwithstanding the altogether peculiar position in which we here find the Apostle Paul, we must give our assent to the view of Williger (see Bibelstunden der Apostelgeschichte, ii. S. 633, 634), who endeavours to represent the conduct of the Apostle as establishing a rule of more extended application, inasmuch as, just like Paul in the passage before us, "elsewhere, also, the men of God before their superiors, prove, notwithstanding all their humble submission to them, that God has appointed them judges of the injustice of their judges." The applicability of this principle depends, of course, upon the existence of conditions similar to those in the case before us; but whether this principle be applicable or not, it is, at all events, necessary for understanding and weighing the fact in question; and it must not be overlooked for the sake of the connection of our book and history, that by this fact, forming, as it does, a most important incident in the course of events, the principle has been firmly and incontrovertibly established that there is a difference betwixt *person* and *office*, and that, possibly, the office may be opposed to the person. In this conduct of the Apostle, we have thus a supplementary declaration regarding his doctrine with respect to civil magistrates (Rom. xiii. 1—9). But the simple and natural in-

terpretation of the passage under consideration has been chiefly prevented by just the circumstance that, from the passage in Romans, men have got into the habit of looking at the one aspect only, which countenances the authority of the magistrate over the self-will and caprice of the individual, but of overlooking the other aspect, which is as undeniably contained in it, namely, that which countenances the right of the individual in opposition to the magistrate. For it is quite common to attempt to interpret that passage as bearing out only the view that the civil powers, being divinely instituted and unassailable, are protected and upheld against all insubordination and ungodly rebellion whatsoever. But in doing so, one is apt to commit the mistake of simply identifying the concrete forms of civil power, against which alone the attacks of revolution are directed, with the civil powers themselves,—the holders of the office of magistrate, with the office itself. Paul, indeed, speaks also of the really existing magistrates; but always in such a manner that he strives fully to bring out, and to impress the mind with their *idea* (compare Tholuck in his Comment. on Romans, S. 648). And not only that which Paul saw in Corinth, but, still more, the fact which we are now considering in its historical connection, shows us what good ground the Apostle had, in his experience, for seeing and declaring that, notwithstanding the extensive disorders and disturbances in the Roman empire, this idea of the authority of the civil powers existed and was realized in the Roman magistrates. Dorner deserves credit for having directed attention to the fact that, in that passage, Paul, by using the striking word ἐξουσία, intimates with sufficient plainness that he did not so much speak of persons as of ordinances (see Verhandlungen des Stuttgarter Kirchentages, i. 34 : comp. also Nägelsbach, Was ist Christlich, S. 41—45). Indeed, the two passages quoted are connected with each other, as the two modes supplementing each other, which Paul adopts for bringing out the authority of powers,—the one viewing it from the side of the Jewish world; the other, from that of the Gentile world. This idea of powers, when applied to the Gentile world, finds offices and ordinances in existence, in which the original institution of God is still to be clearly recognized; and hence St Paul commends submission to every soul. But this idea of powers when applied to the Jewish world, shows that the

highest office-bearers have completely apostatized from the Divine ordinance; and hence St Paul, as a prophet, announces the unavoidable judgment of God upon the head of the organism which has come into deadly conflict with itself.

But, of course, as the application of the idea of the authority of powers to the bearers of the Roman law and ordinances, was so understood that, thereby, the persons, as such, were placed under the protection of the office, it could not but appear strange that Paul here brings forward the office as a witness against, and an accuser of the person. It is very instructive, and affords as much an illustration of, as a support to, our view of this point in the course of events, that Luther who, in reference to the power of magistrates, occupied a position similar to that of Paul, has shared the same fate as regards the interpretation of his doctrine upon this subject. The following passage from Luther places this analogy, as regards the point in question, in the clearest light: "All this I speak of the nature of things here on earth, namely, that law and judge, *res* and *persona*, should not be regarded as identical, but should be distinguished, and not be confounded with each other; so that we should not see and pay attention to what the judge does, but to what the law does, just as the heathen Seneca also says: 'non quis sed quid dicatur attende.' And the whole of Holy Writ forbids us to regard a person. They have learned it from our books that magistrates and superiors should be honoured. That they thus understand, that they should honour what the person Heinz[1] does, while we have only spoken of, and understood office and law; and in proof of it, have also strongly reproved many princes and lords that they do not discharge the duty of their office. But they mix it all up so horribly, and imagine that every thing which a person wills and thinks is the work of the magistrate or office. But against such an opinion there are, and there come forward the ten commandments of God, which demand submission, not only from emperors and kings, but also from prophets, apostles, and every creature, and compel them to do what is right, and do not allow them to do

[1] A German proper name, of pretty frequent occurrence; but, in colloquial and easy style, used also, especially when connected with *Kunz*, to denote a stupid, uneducated, and boorish person. Luther, in his polemical writings, often so designates Henry VIII. of England.—Tr.

what, individually, they would desire. Blessed God! how is it possible that the world should still be so blind, after such light has been so richly revealed by the Catechism. What is the use of all our preaching, if they will not, or cannot yet understand this doctrine,—if that is to be regarded as right which the person who holds the office wills and does? If such is to be the case, then all is lost; then Heinzes and devils only rule; and God and His law are despised, dead, and nothing. Turn as you may, you must in the end yet come to the law; the person will be of no use to you, if the law condemn you, even though you should have a hundred thousand emperors and popes on your side" (see Werke, 17, 1722—1724; comp. Hauspostille S. 158, 159, new edition).

In conclusion, I would only direct attention to the fact, that our view may certainly be somewhat commended by the circumstance, that it is just this view of the passage under consideration which can stand the test which Baur insists upon in this passage, in order to raise an insurmountable difficulty in the way of the theological interpretation. Baur thus writes: "If the letter be of such importance; if, therefore, it be unquestionable that the Apostle has really conducted himself in such a manner; and, farther, if it must be regarded as established—at least if there be consistency—that the Apostles, as the most immediate organs of the Holy Spirit, must, in every respect, be an infallible authority;—then the conduct of an Apostle should not be found fault with, and corrected after one's own human, moral notions; but we should rather allow our own moral notions to be corrected by the conduct of the Apostle" (see der Apostel Paulus, S. 207. Anmerk.). We believe, however, that the exposition of the passage in question which we have attempted has fully answered this most severe test.

The fine and striking manner in which St Paul, by bringing forward the *idea* of the High Priest, had, by his reproof, hit the present representative of this idea, evidently produced in the whole assembly a still greater amount of embarrassment and confusion than we had seen in it at the commencement. But Paul has clearly perceived, that in the way first entered upon, (see ver. 1), he could not attain his object. The Apostle, therefore, adopts a different course, in order to advance his cause

before the assembly. He avails himself of the division existing between the two well-known Jewish parties—a division which had entered into the highest court for the administration of all Jewish affairs—in order to represent his cause from a different point of view. With respect to the words which Paul cried out in the Council: "I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee: on account of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question," it is necessary first of all, to examine how far the charges of the critics are true, that these statements do not agree with the real facts of the case (see Schneckenburger, Zweck der Apostelgesch. S. 145—146; Baur, der Apostel Paulus, S. 203—6; Zeller, l. c. S. 565, 566). Zeller even fixes upon the words: "I am a Pharisee," remarking that Paul had been a Pharisee; but that it was a falsehood on his part to say that he was a Pharisee still. But it clearly appears from the context, that Pharisaism is here brought forward merely as a contrast to Sadduceeism; and in this respect, the Pharisees are they, who strictly, rigorously, and zealously adhere to the law and the prophets—to the whole Old Testament writings of God. For, although the Sadducees did not reject the prophets,—as has often been, without sufficient reason, asserted (see Winer, Bibl. Realwörterb. ii. 353)—yet, as regards legal justice and holiness, they were far less strict and careful (see Winer, l. c. S. 354); whilst the Pharisees were always well instructed in the Scriptures, and, therefore, enjoyed special reputation as a party who were well pleasing to God on account of their piety (see Joseph. Antiq. xvii. 2, 4). Why, then, should Paul, who likewise designates the manner of the Pharisees as the strictest in reference to legal observance, and the worship of God (see xxii. 3, xxvi. 5); who was filled with an unlimited reverence for, and devotion to, the law, which, as we have already remarked, remained unchangeably the same, although, outwardly, it had sometimes to give way;—why should he not have been allowed still to call himself a Pharisee, especially for the purpose of thereby distinguishing himself from the more lax Sadducees?

"But how could Paul venture," we are still farther asked, "thus to cover over the real point in dispute, by saying that he was accused for the hope and resurrection of the dead?" "Inasmuch as, by these words, he could allude to the resurrection of

Jesus only, this was—so Baur thinks—after all, a distinct and separate question, and had nothing to do with the general belief in a resurrection. The point of dispute existing betwixt Paul and the Pharisees was thus evaded and set aside, in an insincere way. For the resurrection of Jesus might be denied without prejudice to the belief in a resurrection in general" (sec. l. c. S. 203). But does he who writes thus, and who makes such assertions, not remember the important discussion of Paul with those in Corinth who denied the resurrection? Has he then altogether forgotten that Paul, in that discussion, makes all resurrection depend upon the resurrection of Christ, and hence treats the Sadduceean denial of the resurrection as a direct attack upon the belief in the resurrection of Jesus, and, therefore, as wholly destructive of the believer's assurance of salvation? From 1 Cor. xv. it distinctly appears, that this assertion of Baur is directly opposed to the Apostle's whole mode of thinking, and, hence, must be altogether wrong in this context also. It follows, farther, from those discussions of St Paul, that, in the mouth of the Apostle, it bears a very good sense to say that the point at issue was the hope of the resurrection of the dead. For it is only where this hope exists, that the belief in the resurrection of Christ has any foundation, as Paul shows in 1 Cor. xv.; and, as he proves farther in that chapter, the resurrection of Jesus is that fact which seals the completion of the work of salvation. From this mode of thinking and reasoning on the part of Paul, we can fully understand how it was that he came to use this expression, and to make this assertion; especially if he was desirous so to mark the question in dispute, as to point to the contrast between these two existing sects in their relation to the faith of Jesus. We thus obtain the conviction that Paul carries through his regard to the position of the parties in the Sanhedrim, without, in the least degree, detracting from truth and sincerity.

But traces of intentional fiction are found not only in that which is assigned to St Paul, but also in that which is reported about the ensuing dissension among the members of the Sanhedrim. It is thought to be impossible that, after this declaration of the Apostle, the Pharisees should have interested themselves so much for him, that, as is here declared, they take his part against the Sadducees, and even grant the possibility of the

appearance of Jesus, of which Paul had, on the preceding day, spoken in presence of the whole people (see Schneckenburger, l. c. S. 144; Baur, l. c. S. 206; Zeller, l. c. S. 565). But there is nothing improbable or inconceivable in all this, if only we do not so enlarge this account, and carry it beyond measure, as *e.g.* Olshausen does, who thinks that he can here find a proof for the assertion "that the general acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah, on the part of the whole Jewish people, was very near at hand;"—of which, however, nothing is to be found in this passage, when we consider it calmly and quietly. We must only, above all, keep in mind that St Luke does not here speak of an abiding disposition and conviction of the Pharisees with regard to Paul. By his later accounts, he has himself surely warned us sufficiently, that, in the expressions here uttered, we should not see anything beyond a sudden excitement and ebullition of mind,—just such as the circumstances would lead us to expect. It has been objected, indeed, that parties who had, for so long a time, been living and connected with each other, as had the Pharisees and Sadducees, must long ago have been so smoothed down as not to get into a violent dispute, upon every occasion, regarding the points of difference between them (see Baur, l. c. S. 204). But, in making this assertion, the circumstance is overlooked that the parties do not here get into a dispute about the resurrection and angels, but about the Apostle Paul. But how could the Pharisees, it may be asked, so far forget their opposition to Paul's ministry among the Gentiles, as to take his part so zealously against the Sadducees? We must here take into consideration the momentary embarrassment and confusion into which Paul's confidence and superiority had just thrown the whole Sanhedrim. The more that the members of the Sanhedrim were ashamed, and, in this state, had to face Paul and the Tribune, the more readily might some new phase of the matter lay hold of their minds, and carry them beyond the usual limits; and the declaration of the Apostle: "I am a Pharisee, . . . for the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question," was quite suited to make, at the moment, an impression which could not be expected at another time. The Pharisees laid hold of Paul's declaration, confidently uttered,—a declaration which, after all, had a convincing ground to rest upon in his

former conduct, as well as in his having but lately submitted to the law of the Nazarites; and they laid hold upon it with a party-interest all the stronger that they, thereby, found an opportunity of escaping from their painful embarrassment, and of taking up, at the same time, a definite position which exactly expressed the ground occupied by their sect, with reference to the question under consideration.

After we have thus endeavoured to vindicate Luke's account of the second stage of the proceedings before the Sanhedrim in the case of Paul, against the attacks made upon it, and the suspicions raised against it by criticism, there still remains the question:—What was it which Paul intended to accomplish by the surprising turn which he gives to the whole cause? The introduction which Luke gives in the words: "But when Paul perceived that the one part were Sadducees, and the other Pharisees," unquestionably suggests the idea that Paul intends to pay a prudent regard to the position of the parties within the Sanhedrim. The declaration of the Lord himself in Matt. x. 16 shows that such prudence, provided there be no encroachment upon the truth, is not only permitted, but is even demanded, by the spirit of Christ. For this reason, then, we are not entitled to say that this turn was merely human prudence, or "cunning," as Zeller expresses it, in which the Holy Ghost had no share; but, on the contrary, like as the zeal against the High Priest is wrought by the Spirit, so, also, is the prudent calculation upon the party interest of the Pharisees. The case stands just as Hofman says: "Is that which Paul cried out in the Council a divine word, or a word of prudence? We answer, It is both; the Spirit teaches him the prudent speech" (see Weissag. und Erfüllg. i. 29). But if this supposition be correct, it is not only necessary to protect the speech of Paul from the suspicion of falsehood, as we have done, but also to assign, to the whole turn, some purpose worthy of God. But it cannot be called a purpose worthy of God, if, as Meyer supposes, the sole object of the Apostle was "to inflame the party interest, and thereby to interest the greater party in his own behalf." This, it is true, is the most obvious purpose which Paul must have had in view in giving this new turn to affairs; but he would sink down from the lofty and dignified position which he occupies at this place,

if he were not to take a much larger view. Where, and when, has Paul ever regarded and brought forward his own person as the ultimate and final object? Is he not always, and every where, ready to yield up his own person for the service and glory of God? We cannot, therefore, do otherwise than keep in mind the same high aim of the Apostle in this wisely-planned speech also. We must regard the step here taken by Paul as another and last attempt to bring over the Sanhedrim to a position more favourable to the cause of the Gospel. For this purpose, he looks about for a point of contact, as yet left untouched by hatred and wickedness; and such appears to him to exist in that which, originally, it had in common with Pharisaism, and which it still had, if correctly understood. Paul imagines it to be possible, that, by awakening the consciousness of this communion betwixt him, the Apostle, and the Pharisaic members of the Sanhedrim, an inward crisis might be the result; inasmuch as the Pharisees would thereby not only feel themselves induced to separate themselves from the unbelieving Sadducees, but also to give to their adherence to the law under all circumstances the necessary consistency for the inner and outer life; just as such a purified Pharisaism was represented in the life of James the just. It could not well escape Paul that, for the attainment of his holy purpose, he was calling up an ally of a very doubtful character; but it is as easy to see that, by this turn alone, it was possible to come to an understanding: and, for this reason, the wisdom of the Apostle, which, as we have seen, is not by any means to the prejudice of harmlessness, must be recognised and lauded as a holy one. And although the Pharisees do not abandon their mere party interest, and hence adopt, only superficially, the point in dispute which Paul advanced, yet this is to be ascribed, not to the wisdom of the Apostle united with the harmlessness of the dove, but, exclusively, to their deep-rooted perverseness.

But although the wisdom displayed by Paul in his speech for a moment obtains that success which he had, in the first instance, intended, it has, nevertheless, very little influence in securing the real object at which he aimed. This is palpably manifested by the circumstance, that even the passionate defence and protection afforded him by the sect of the Pharisees does not even

avert personal danger from him. On the contrary, it rather brings Paul's life into evident danger. For after the great cry (ver. 9), there follows a great uproar (πολλὴ στάσις, ver. 10) in the assembly; so that the Tribune becomes afraid lest Paul should be pulled in pieces by them. To explain this tumultuous scene, Meyer says: "Let us only imagine that each of the two furious parties seizes Paul, for the purpose of keeping him in their hands; the one, in order to protect him,—the other, to secure him as the object of their fury.

Such, then, is the issue of this memorable assembly of the Sanhedrim on the temple-hill, and of this contact of the Apostle Paul with them. The commencement was a passionate outbreak of the High Priest against the Apostle of Christ; and the issue, a complete dissolution of the assembly into a perfect tumult which brought the Apostle into danger of death. How significant, yea, how necessary, is this self-destruction of the highest and most perfect earthly organ of the power of the magistrate, when contrasted with the announcement of the Divine sentence and judgment by the word of the Apostle! And, on the other hand, how instructive, as to the farther course of the development, is the interference of the Roman Tribune just at the moment of the complete dissolution of the Israelitish Sanhedrim! After the Sanhedrim has thus precipitately fallen from the position assigned to it by Divine appointment, it may rend itself in pieces; for nothing can remain for it but waiting for the fire of Divine wrath. But while the Sanhedrim is thus judging and condemning itself, there is, in the midst of it, the man who is the instrument of God's present will and work among Jews and Gentiles. He must not, by any means, be allowed to perish, or be endangered in this crisis of the Sanhedrim. And in the moment of danger, the Roman Tribune, who commanded his soldiers to come down from the Castle of Antonia, interferes in this uproar of the Council, saves Paul out of the midst of the Sanhedrim where his life was in danger, and brings him within the precincts of the Roman camp where his life is secure (ver. 10). Thus, in the same moment that the Sanhedrim, as the head of the Israelitish constitution, seems to be delivered up to the evident judgment of God, the constitution of the Roman empire, whose instru-

ment we must acknowledge the Roman Tribune, with his soldiers, to be, is appointed and sanctioned as that organization which God will employ for the farther progress of His kingdom on earth.

The real appearance and comforting address of the Lord to the Apostle Paul (ver. 11) exactly corresponds to the great crisis in the relations of the world which had taken place on the preceding day. In a comforting word, the Lord confirms to Paul what he had formerly, at Ephesus, felt to be essentially necessary, viz., that his journey to Jerusalem should lead to Rome (xix. 21). The Lord acknowledges the testimony which Paul has borne at Jerusalem; and, inasmuch as Paul plainly sees that his preaching in Jerusalem was in vain, or rather, had the effect of hardening, the Lord enlarges his heart and shews him the opposite pole of the kingdoms of the world, viz., the city of Rome, as a new sphere for his ministry. This word of the Lord became to Paul the star which shone upon him during the dark period through which he had still to pass, before arriving at the mark pointed out to him.

From the above events we draw the certain inference that God's last offer to Israel and Jerusalem has been rejected. A new phase in the relation of Israel to Paul, the last messenger of faith, can, therefore, no more take place; but that which, by the fatal decision of both the people and their rulers, has been done in secret, may yet manifest itself more distinctly. And it is with this manifestation of the apostacy, already substantially accomplished inwardly, and with the final rejection of Divine grace in Israel, that we have, in the next instance, to do. For St Luke reports that, on the day after the tumultuous dissolution of the Sanhedrim, in consequence of the proceedings in the case of Paul, a number, of more than forty Jews, entered into a formal conspiracy against the life of Paul, and formed a plan for carrying out their murderous purpose (vv. 13—15). No doubt it is the intention of Luke, by this fact, to make us perceive the highest degree of wild fanaticism on the part of the Jews against Paul, and to convince us that the spirit of hatred and wickedness has now filled and roused the hearts of the Jews against Paul to such a degree, that they cannot rest as long as they know him to be still alive, although, hitherto, all attempts against him have thoroughly failed, and he is already under safe protection.

And it is evidently for the sole purpose of impressing us with the horrible and fatal fact of those oaths, and this conspiracy, that Luke brings their contents before us (see ver. 12 and 14). It appears from two indications, that, in these forty zealots, we may perceive the disposition of the people. *First*—Luke calls these forty, simply *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* (ver. 12); *secondly*—he does not mention that the Sanhedrim, to which this nefarious plan for the assassination of Paul was communicated, had anything to oppose to it; and we are fully entitled to infer, with certainty, from this fact, that the Sanhedrim, which, as late as the day before, had been compelled to feel the truth and justice of the Apostle, became, themselves, accomplices in this wicked plot. The measure of the mad hatred which animated the Jews against Paul is thus filled up; and this becomes the cause of Paul's removal from Jerusalem to Rome. He was the messenger of Jesus to Jerusalem, as well as to Rome; but, now, he is not again to enter her, but to leave her to her destiny of being trodden down of the Gentiles (see Luke xxi. 24). And, on the other hand, this last wickedness on the part of the Jews furnishes a new reason for the manifestation of the protection which the hidden hand of the Lord knows to prepare for His instrument, out of the Roman constitution.

Paul's sister's son had heard of this wicked plot of the Jews (ver. 16); for, as Bengel correctly remarks: "they carried on the matter more openly, not thinking that there would be any one to inform Paul, or the Tribune." He entered the Roman camp, and told Paul (ver. 16). This fact shews that Paul is treated rather as one to be protected, than as a criminal. Here, again, the contrast between the camp of Israel and that of the Gentiles shews itself. In the former, all order is so entirely dissolved, that the highest court in Israel makes common cause with conspirators and banditti. In the latter, on the other hand, all is well-arranged and regulated. While, in the former, disorder makes its last effort for the destruction of the Apostle Paul; in the latter, all the members of the organism are ordained for the service and protection of the Apostle. And while, in the former, the utmost efforts fail; in the latter, the arrangements work well and succeed. When we keep this point in view, we shall not be surprised at the minuteness with which Luke

reports the events which took place in the camp of the Romans. For that which, in this fact—insignificant and unessential in itself—is remarkable, is the circumstance that the Roman constitution, which was framed to rule the world, appears here in the service, and as promoting the interests of the kingdom of God. Thus it is that, in all these outward occurrences, the prayer of the saints always appears again as the concealed background. Paul refers his sister's son to the Tribune; and one of the centurions, who is near, is, at once, ready to introduce him in a formal manner to the Tribune (vv. 17, 18). The Tribune takes the Israelitish youth by the hand, goes with him aside privately, asks him what he has to tell him (ver. 19); and Luke does not think it useless once more to bring before us the whole wickedness of the Jews (vv. 20, 21). The Tribune, having soon convinced himself of the correctness of the intelligence, dismisses the youth; charging him not to tell to any man that he had shewed him these things (ver. 22); and then makes his arrangements, which again are communicated with the most perfect minuteness.

The Tribune called out his soldiers for the protection of Paul. Rightly thinking that, with such demoniacal fury on the part of the Jews, the life of Paul is in imminent danger, he ordered a military division, composed of troops, with different arms, and commanded by two centurions, to bring Paul at the setting in of the night (ἀπὸ τρίτης ὥρας τῆς νυκτός, ver. 23), on beasts for riding (κτήνη, ver. 24) to Caesarea, to the Procurator Felix, as a place of sufficient security. How minute an account is here! Not only the number of the men of each of the three kinds of troops is distinctly communicated (ver. 23); but, as to the farther carrying out of this military measure, it is added that the infantry, who formed the centre, returned after they had gone as far as Antipatris, and left it to the cavalry alone to bring Paul farther on the following day (ver. 32). The reason of this is obvious. The protection of the infantry was most needed in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood; here, if necessary, the infantry was to keep off the masses; farther away from Jerusalem, where attacks from large masses were no longer to be dreaded, the cavalry was quite sufficient. The military order and institution is thus brought before us, for the purpose of bringing it fully home to us, that even the military institution—that part

of the Roman empire most opposed to the kingdom of God—has been placed at the service of that kingdom; and it is for this reason that Luke does not omit to state that the detachment which was despatched to bring Paul to Caesarea from the den of murderers in Jerusalem, consisted of three differently armed troops, viz., the heavy-armed, the cavalry, and the light-armed (see Grotius and Meyer on δεξιολάβοι). These three kinds of troops comprehend the entire ancient military armament (see Johannes v. Müller on the Roman military affairs, in his Allgem. Geschichte, vi. 8), and form, even now, the basis of the present system of military equipment.

With this intentional carefulness in the account of all the circumstances of the protection afforded to the threatened Paul, by the constitution of the Roman Empire, corresponds the communication of the official letter addressed by the Tribune, Lysias, to the Procurator, Felix, and committed to the care of the commander of the detachment sent for the protection of Paul. We need not wonder that St Luke thought it worth while somehow to procure for himself this document, in order to be able to add this letter of a Roman military Tribune to his account; while, at the same time, many circumstances, which are commonly considered to be of far greater importance, are passed over by him in entire silence. Even the Old Testament writers are particularly anxious to communicate, in an authentic form, the orders and arrangements of the kingdoms of the world which are favourable to the kingdom of Israel (see Daniel iv.; Esther viii. 10—13; Ezra i. 2—4, vi. 1—12, vii. 11—26). All such decrees and orders are evidently so very remarkable for this reason, that they are a proof of the secret power which the God of Israel exercises over the mighty and powerful ones in the ungodly kingdoms of the world (see Ezra vii. 27, 28). And it is no doubt from this point of view, that Luke considers the measures of the Roman commander for the protection of the Apostle Paul; and it is just for the purpose of clearly and directly exhibiting the secret influence of Divine power upon the Roman representative of the world's power, that he communicates the document itself. The letter of Lysias is, moreover, the official confirmation of the fact, that we ought to regard the seizure and continued imprisonment of the Apostle by the Roman garrison, chiefly in

the light of a protection, by which he is delivered twice, or, as the account states, thrice, out of the murderous hands of the Jews. Lysias, however, by writing ἐξειλόμην αὐτὸν, μαθὼν ὅτι Ῥωμαῖός ἐστιν, wishes to represent the matter in such a light, as if his exertions on behalf of Paul had, from the beginning, been called forth by Paul's being a Roman citizen; whereas we know, that it was only after the Apostle's seizure that the Tribune was, accidentally, informed of it (see xxii. 25—29). It is in vain to attempt the removal of this contrariety between the letter and the account, by saying, with Grotius, that μαθών might be equivalent to καὶ ἔμαθον. For although even De Wette still considers such a solution as possible, yet it is quite certain that the Preterite signification of the participle of the Aorists, which is fixed by the universal Greek *usus loquendi*, is established in the New Testament also (see Winer S. 405, 406). But Meyer is no doubt right in remarking that this deviation from the real truth of the matter was intended by the Tribune, in order to place in a clearer light his zeal in the service; so that we accordingly possess, in this trifling feature, an internal testimony for the genuineness of the letter. Nor has Zeller succeeded in adducing any solid arguments against this view of Meyer (see l. c. S. 568).

On the arrival of Paul at the residence of the Roman Procurator, nothing of importance is pointed out, except that, from the whole first reception by the Procurator, the prevalence of order and right is again recognized. And knowing that the Apostle is kept in the palace of Herod (see ver. 35; comp. xii. 19), we must feel quite satisfied and at ease.

§ 33. NEITHER FELIX NOR FESTUS, BUT ONLY THE ROMAN LAW, CONTINUES TO AFFORD PROTECTION TO THE APOSTLE.

(Chap. xxiv. 1—Chap. xxv. 22).

It is made manifest by the clearest signs, and confirmed by the word of the Lord in His last appearance by night to Paul, that the vocation of the Apostle in Jerusalem is fulfilled. Nothing new can, therefore, occur before the Apostle begins to fulfil his vocation for Rome. But there still exists the possibility, never-

theless, that the great historical importance implied in the last event of our history, and which is as deep as it is far-reaching, will become still more manifest; and in order to keep the attention of his readers fixed upon it, and, still more, to enable them the better to realize the importance and significance of this event, St Luke thinks it appropriate to embody in his account the following facts also; although, when compared with the decisive events just narrated, they possess only a subordinate character. In this position, the account in our book continues until the moment that the departure of Paul from Caesarea is reported, whereby our regards are at once directed towards Rome, the metropolis of the world. Although fully two years elapse, the history itself does not advance a step,—a fact which is, even outwardly and immediately, manifested by the circumstance that Paul continues to be kept in prison by the Romans, and that, from the beginning to the end of the time marked out, he has not, for a moment, come out from the Roman residence in Judea. Luke is, nevertheless, very minute in his account of this period; and we shall see that this is of great importance for understanding the course of the development of the primitive Church, which it is the object of our book to bring before us. It will be seen that those supplementary accounts bring to our view many additional aspects of the great crisis which has taken place in the course of events, and which, hitherto, we were unable to discover.

As was also expressed in his letter to Felix (see xxiii. 30), Lysias had referred the accusers of St Paul to the Procurator. For, inasmuch as the matter had come into the hands of the Roman authorities, the ordinary course of business required that it should be dealt with according to the forms of the law; and although Lysias was convinced of the innocence of Paul (see xxiii. 29), yet he could not dismiss the Jewish accusers as long as the cause had not been disposed of in a formal way. We now also see at once, that the hatred of the Sanhedrim against Paul has not been mitigated, far less removed, either by their having been put to shame at the last meeting, or by the removal of Paul from Jerusalem. Scarcely five days have elapsed since the Apostle's removal, when the High Priest Ananias, with the elders, set out for Caesarea, in order to resume, before the Procurator, the accusation against Paul. And on this occa-

sion, indeed, the accusation is to be raised in the most formal manner. For, although the point of the accusation had its foundation solely in the religious and national character of Judaism, and, for this reason, none could have been so well acquainted with, or have mastered the subject, as the members of the highest court within the province of Judaism; yet they would not themselves plead this cause, but take with them a certain Tertullus, as the orator who is to speak in it before the Procurator. It is just because this circumstance is so characteristic, that Luke does not omit to notice it. Concerning ῥήτωρ, Bengel makes the pertinent remark, that this is the only passage in Scripture in which the word rhetorician, and the name of a rhetorician occur; from which circumstance we may infer that art is not essentially required for that word and message which alone are in Scripture of importance. The designation of ῥήτωρ refers, as has been remarked by Grotius, to the orator by profession, and specially also to the orator forensis,—which is placed beyond any doubt by the gloss of Thomas, in Wetstein ad h.l. As is farther proved by the researches of Wetstein, the name Tertullus is a genuine Roman name. This orator must, therefore, have, without doubt, been an Italian; and there mark of Grotius: "a Roman who better understood the Roman language and mode of pleading before a court," is quite appropriate. The strict observance of the forensic forms we meet with at the very outset, in the word ἐνεφάνισαν; for, although this word does not necessarily refer to the raising of a formal charge, as Grotius thinks, it is, at all events, a formal and solemn expression. But the peculiarity of the proceedings thus opened comes most strikingly out in Tertullus' speech itself. Tertullus, we see, well understands what Grotius says: "It is one of the rules of rhetoric to secure the good-will of the judge, by praising him." With a bold intent he, at once and directly, proceeds towards his object, by praising and extolling, in a well-constructed prefatory period, and in a most exaggerated, nay, in an altogether lying manner, the administration of Felix in Judea. Whilst thus Tertullus, as the mouth-piece of the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, praises the peace, and the excellent institutions which the land enjoyed through the care of Felix, Tacitus, who, as every one knows, is any thing but favourably disposed towards the Jews, writes:

Claudius, defunctis regibus, aut ad modicum redactis, Judaeam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit: e quibus Antonius Felix per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit (Histor. v. 9). It is thus quite manifest that this commencement of Tertullus' speech in praise of Felix, a brother of Pallas, a man as wicked as he was notorious (see Claudius, de Felice Judaeae Procuratore, pp. 7—10), is a tissue of flattery and lies (see Claudius l. c. p. 52). A new view is thus opened up to us into the altogether untenable position of the Jewish Sanhedrim. The journey of the High Priest, and of the other members of the Sanhedrim to Caesarea, has, for its declared object, the calling to account of a pretended despiser of the law, and seducer of the people; and this business is so carried out by the heads of the Jewish people, that they employ a foreign orator, and through him, from the very outset, place themselves in a position, in which they are compelled to abandon the last remnant of Jewish national feeling in presence of the tyrannical oppressor of their people. By thus ever holding out anew the appearance of legal and holy zeal, they only ever anew show that their nature has become stript and destitute of all real Judaism. What can we then farther expect if, after this flattery of the heathen, Tertullus, by means of a period; as smooth as it is empty, promises to come to the point (ver. 4)? Wetstein very correctly remarks: "Tertullus as impudently slanders Paul and accuses Lysias, as he had flattered Felix. Such is the manner of declaimers." Indeed, all the accusations urged by the Jews against Paul are here heaped together, and pointed with exceeding skill. Tertullus is especially anxious at once to bring the expression, λοιμός, into the fore-ground of the charge, in order that this favourite term, used by orators for designating a monster of wickedness and worthlessness (see Wetstein ad ver. 5), may not escape him. In addition to the low charges which had formerly been advanced, viz., moving to sedition the Jews in the Roman empire, and profanation of the temple, a third is here adduced, viz., that Paul was a ring-leader of the sect of the Nazarenes (ver. 5). From this we learn that they have now begun, at Jerusalem also, to call the Christians by a particular name; so that this designation corresponds with that which was given to them at Antioch (see xi. 26). But this is not so much

a sign that any change has taken place within the congregation of the faithful at Jerusalem, as an indication that the Jewish people were giving, more and more, outwardly also, distinct manifestation of their unbelief; so that the faithful on their part also are compelled to make their opposition manifest. This name for the Christians among the unbelieving Jews has, of course, been chosen intentionally, and points, with contempt, to the low origin of Jesus (see John i. 47); and Tertullus imagines that, in the low and contemptible character of the Christian sect, he has sufficient ground for throwing suspicion upon the leader of so low a class of men, before the tribunal of the Roman Procurator. After the Jews present had, by their own assent, confirmed this speech of their heathenish mouth-piece, Paul, on the Procurator beckoning to him, defends himself (ver. 9).

St Paul too, in the commencement of his speech, seeks to propitiate the favor of the Procurator; but the difference consists in this:—that, while the Roman orator does not hesitate, by lying flatteries, to win the favor of the judge, the Apostle confines himself to the simple truth. Paul says that he feels happy to stand before a judge who had been over the Jews for many years (seven, according to Meyer). Paul, therefore, can, with a perfect right, expect that Felix, during his administration of seven years, must have acquired a sufficient knowledge of the passionate and rebellious character of the Jews to entitle him to suppose it possible, that all the heavy charges just urged against him have had their origin in mere party prejudices and passion. Paul, at the same time, at once adds a circumstance which seems fitted to strengthen Felix still more in this reasonable expectation, viz., that the Procurator may ascertain, moreover, that twelve days only have elapsed since his arrival in Jerusalem (ver. 11), and that, hence, it will be quite practicable to obtain certain evidence as to his conduct in Jerusalem and Judea.

The real defence of the Apostle consists of three facts. *First*—He denies altogether that he had raised any excitement among the people, as Tertullus accused him (ver. 5); inasmuch as at Jerusalem he had, by no means, gone about to move sedition among the Jews (vv. 12, 13). *Secondly*—He shows that his communion with the Christians, designated by them as the sect of the Nazarenes, did not, in any way, separate him from Judaism, but, on

the contrary, obliged him, in a higher degree, to the holy exercise of true Judaism (vv. 14—16). *Finally*—As regards the special charge of his having profaned the temple, the direct reverse was the case, inasmuch as his stay in the temple had a purely devotional and religious purpose (vv. 17—19). The Apostle then, in addition, briefly refers to the proceedings before the Sanhedrim itself, where they could not prove anything against him; and closes with calling to remembrance this fact which was so discreditable to the Sanhedrim.

Here, also, it has been found strange and suspicious-looking that St Paul does not mention at all the real cause and rock of offence, viz., his doctrine and practice with respect to freedom from the law; but that, instead of it, he endeavours to bring forward, in every possible way, his adherence to Judaism. Criticism has found this defence to be so irreconcileable with the true position of Paul, that it thinks itself entitled to view this as a new proof of its assertion of the apologetic tendency of the Acts of the Apostles, and hence to consider this speech as an attempt of the writer to make Paul appear in a more favourable light to the Judaizing portion of the Christian Church (see Schneckenburger, Zweck der Apostelgesch S. 147, 148; Baur, der Apostel Paulus, S. 211; Zeller, Theolog. Jahrb. S. 568, 569). It is, indeed, true that Exegesis has here also again neglected its duty, and, thereby, opened to criticism the door for such objections. That which we are entitled to expect,—especially since Paul himself uses, in ver. 14, the solemn word ὁμολογῶ in his speech (comp. Rom. x. 9, 10; 1 Tim. vi. 12; Heb. iii. 1; iv. 14; x. 23),—is identical with that which Bengel also confesses to have found here: "An open, spontaneous, and full confession;" but expositors, and Bengel himself, have done little to prove the existence of such a confession. On the contrary, if Calvin tries to prove that one cannot raise a charge on account of Paul's worshipping in the temple; and if Olshausen, as regards the confession of the resurrection of the dead, contents himself with the remark, that probably the main accusation had here also come from the Sadducees,—all this is but ill-adapted to prove to us the sincerity and fulness of Paul's confession. If then, moreover, we raise the question, how Paul could here have withdrawn from the duty of expressing, in this his confession, the peculiarity of his position,

especially with respect to his opposition to the law,—how he could have reconciled it to his conscience to pass over in silence this whole part of his position and ministry, the expositions of Paul's speech leave us entirely at sea.

Nor will it be sufficient, in this discourse, to refer to that which Paul said about his position, before the Sanhedrim. For our account expressly says that he was led to make that remark regarding his Pharisaism, because he perceived the division which existed within the Sanhedrim, and that he made up his mind to use this turn as a last resort, only after he had already been fully convinced of the want of principle, and of the dissolute condition of the Jewish court before which he was standing. It is, hence, quite evident that the position of Paul is here essentially different; inasmuch as he is now standing before the tribunal of the Roman Procurator, at which he, at the very outset (ver. 10) expresses his joy; and that, afterwards also (see xxv. 10), he shews that he is fully conscious of his position, and understands how to make the most of it. We are, therefore, entitled to expect that Paul would, freely and without reserve, declare his position with respect to the charge raised against him. The duty is hence imposed upon us of proving that the position taken up in this speech is the one which truly belongs to Paul, *i.e.*, that it has its foundation in the history and individuality of the Apostle Paul. But we are so happily placed that, in order to discharge this duty, we do not need to have recourse to any artificial or difficult operation; we have only to draw conclusions from that which was suggested to us by a consideration of the immediately preceding events, in order to reach, and to point out that position which is implied in the discourse under consideration.

We have seen, from the progress of St Paul's history, that, after having established for himself a threefold sphere of activity, and after having erected, in each of them, the kingdom of God in the midst of the kingdom of Satan, and after having finally established a connection between the east and the west, he has reached the close of his ministry; that it is in this sense, that he bids farewell to his congregations, and sets out for Jerusalem accompanied by the Christian brethren from among the Gentiles, with their gifts. Now, it is true that he sets out for Jerusalem as

if he were going to die; but this is just the finishing of his career which stands out in the view of his mind (see xx. 24), and Jerusalem is thus just the height which, at the close of his career, he was longing to reach. Nor is this idea of Jerusalem, as the culminating point in his career, taken from him, although neither his hopes nor his fears are realized. In the house of James he has acquired the blessed experience, that James, with all the elders of the Church at Jerusalem, in whom he can have no difficulty in recognizing the only true representatives of Zion, have acknowledged and praised the work of God in his work among the Gentiles, and that, hence, the two opposing parts of Christianity which stood over against one another, each having its peculiar features fully developed, were wonderfully at one in mind and spirit, without doing violence, the one to the other, and without giving up their peculiarities. Now, although that which occurred with the people and Sanhedrim of Jerusalem represented just the reverse of this harmony and unity, yet they procure for Paul the opportunity of freely and openly confessing the name of Jesus at Jerusalem,—a thing which, hitherto, he had never been able or permitted to do. And although the immediate result—the hardening—could not fail to fill him with the deepest grief, he has, in return, received, for his strengthening, the word of the Lord: "Thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem" (xxiii. 11). Can it now be imagined that the prospect opened up to him by the Lord—the prospect that his desire of coming to Rome also is to be gratified,—can it be imagined that such a prospect could change his view of his journey to Jerusalem, and his stay there? Certainly not; for since his being delivered up by the Jews into the hands of the Gentiles has not issued in his death, as in the case of his Lord, but in his preservation, this surely must appear to him as the beginning of a new life, by which, however, that which formerly happened cannot appear in any other light than as if he had really died at Jerusalem.

Now, if we conceive of Paul as standing on this height of his life and career, and look from this point of view to the discourse under consideration, we shall find that the statements declaring his Judaism are, in his mouth, not only quite conceivable and intelligible, but that they also very clearly and

distinctly express his present position. We shall endeavour, by this measure, to examine these statements in their order.

St Paul, in the first place, designates his journey to Jerusalem as a pilgrimage to the place of worship (*ἀνέβην προσκυνήσων ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ*, ver. 11, comp. viii. 27). We know that this expression is intended to refer, not to the holy place alone, but also to the festival time. It was the Apostle's wish to be at Jerusalem during the feast of Pentecost, on which, according to the law, all males had to appear before Jehovah (see xx. 16). We might content ourselves with this outward reference, and perhaps still add that if Paul, after all, wished to visit Jerusalem, he might choose the festival period as well as, or rather, in preference to any other; *first*, because at the festival season many strange Jews were also at Jerusalem; and, *secondly*, in order to shew that he did not despise the ordinances of his fathers. Now, if with this he combined the intention—inasmuch as he was, after all, at Jerusalem at the time of the feast—to visit the temple along with the worshipping multitude, and, in spirit and truth, to offer up there his prayer to God—a thing which he might do in the temple as well as any where else—then surely, without falsehood, he could say: *ἀνέβην προσκυνήσων ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ*. But would such a confession be worthy of an Apostle who has been called to a public account, and in presence of the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem? If a Jew spoke these words,—and a Jew Paul after all was, and continued to be both before and after his baptism,—if a Jew spoke these words, could they be meant, or was it allowable to understand them, in any other sense than in that of the law, according to which, not every day is like the fiftieth after the sickle has begun to be put to the corn, like the day on which Israel offers before Jehovah the loaves of their first-fruits; according to which not every place is like the place where Jehovah's sanctuary stands, where Jehovah's presence dwells? Would it be worthy of an Apostle, in presence of a judge, at whose knowledge of Jewish affairs he has just expressed his joy, and in presence of the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, to profess, with solemn words, actions done in compliance with the law, while he means nothing else but just an action which was accidental, or, at the utmost, had its reason in mere external accommodation?

Now, it is true, indeed, that, from the very outset, Paul has

received the calling of realizing a freedom from these legal regulations as to the time and place of God's worship. Paul is, from the first, appointed to go to those at a distance; and he so understands this mission, that he is zealous for the establishment of the worship of God just in those places which might, very properly, be called the heights of the world, and which form the most striking contrast to the holy city. The original Apostles, it is true, were also commissioned to penetrate to the ends of the earth; but this was to be understood, according to the preparations which had been made, in this way:—that the Gospel, after having filled the holy centre of the world, *i.e.* Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, and then the intermediate stage between Israel and the Gentiles, viz., the land of the Samaritans, should penetrate farther to the remotest end of the Gentiles. For this reason it is, that the Apostles remained for so long a time in Jerusalem, and went out into the world of the Gentiles, only after the way into it had been opened up for the Gospel by Paul, who, from the very outset, was directed to those at a distance, because the city of Jerusalem had already decided herself against their vocation. We have also remarked that, in the cities of the Gentiles, Paul sometimes seeks intentionally, by his conduct, to impress upon his disciples the conviction that the prayers of the Church and the proclamation of the Gospel are independent of the consecrated places of the Jewish dispensation (see xviii. 7; xix. 9). It is, accordingly, characteristic of Paul's view of holy places, that he places together Jerusalem which now is, and Mount Sinai (comp. Heb. xii. 17—24), and designates her as a bondmaid (Gal. iv. 25, 26). And with respect to holy seasons, Paul's vocation, as far as they were concerned, was to bring into exercise the liberty of the Spirit. To a great extent this became even necessary by the separation of the Gentile congregations from Jerusalem; but, on the other hand, the Jews scattered throughout the lands of the Gentiles had also accustomed themselves to an order of worship, in which, even independently of Jerusalem, they endeavoured to observe the feasts. But we know that Paul considered himself as bound to break through the order of the festivals as observed in the Synagogues also; for he declares it to be a sign of the power and liberty of the Spirit to consider all days as equal (see Rom. xiv. 5; comp. xv. 1). We find, moreover, an indication that,

as an evident sign of freedom from the legal order of festivals, in the Churches established by Paul, the first day of the week was solemnly kept, and not the seventh (see xx. 7). How earnest and anxious the Apostle Paul was in maintaining in the Churches this liberty of the Spirit, is most clearly seen when, and where he opposes the efforts of the Judaizers to keep up, and enforce upon Gentile Churches, the legal ordinances. As the temptation to establish anew, for the Churches, the sanctity of the city of God had been rather weakened by the scattering of Israel into all countries, the attempts of the Judaizers at seducing were concentrated upon the legal ordinance of the festivals. But while Paul would allow believers spontaneously and of their own free will to conform to the legal festival seasons, (see Rom. xiv. 6), he declares himself, with all the energy of Apostolic authority, against the constrained observance of Sabbaths and new-moons (see Gal. iv. 9—11; Col. ii. 16).

There can be no doubt that Paul was under the necessity of recognizing, and did recognize, the position assigned to him by the Lord in the peculiar ground which he occupied with relation to the holy place, and the holy seasons. But in this, two things must be clearly kept in view. *First*—It is important distinctly to understand and to bear in mind the fact, that, in thus exercising the liberty of the Spirit, Paul does not come into conflict with the Divine ordinance which was revealed in Israel, and which bound them to holy places and seasons. When Jesus says to the Samaritans, that God is a Spirit and they that worship Him must worship Him in Spirit and in truth (see John iv. 24), He does not thereby say anything new, but only brings into prominence that which forms the fundamental condition in the order of the Old Testament worship. For, above all single regulations of the law, there is the certainty that Jehovah cannot be manifested in any place, or in anything; nor can He reveal Himself, in His real nature, to the eye of even the purest man (see Exod. xxxiii. 20). It is just this truth which forms the ground of the strict and severe prohibition of making any image of the Divine Being (Exod. xx. 4—6). Parallel with this revelation of the spiritual nature of the Divine Being there stands the command to love the Lord with all our heart, and with all our soul, and with all our mind (see Deut. vi. 5). This commandment is not, by any

means, one which merely stands side by side with others ; it is the first and greatest commandment (see Matt. xxii. 38), and forms the corner stone of the whole law. It is only by this circumstance that the fact can be accounted for, that wherever, even within the period of the Old Testament dispensation, legalism would put itself forward without this qualifying and determining spiritual foundation, this very spiritual foundation is arrayed against it, and completely destroys all outward actions and operations (see Ps. xl. 7 ; l. 7—23 ; Is. i. 11—20; Hos. vi. 6 ; Amos v. 22—24 ; Mic. vi. 7, 8 ; Jer. vii. 21, 22 ; Prov. xxi. 3). That in these passages, which are directed against a merely external service and worship, there is no appearance of a new revelation, and, hence, a freer and higher point of view,—as is De Wette's opinion in his commentary on Ps. xl. 7,—but that it is only the original spirit of the law which shows itself, and, reacting against the apparent compliance with the legal form, thereby imparts a knowledge of that relation of spirit and form which was intended and established from the very beginning;—all this is easily seen, if one only does not grudge the trouble of penetrating more deeply into a knowledge of the law. But the force with which some of these Old Testament passages declare themselves against all overestimation of legal forms is most clearly seen from such nonsensical statements as Hitzig advances in his exposition of Jerem. vii. 22, 23 ; for he discovers, in this passage, that Jeremiah (as well as Amos, in v. 25) consider only the moral law, perhaps only the decalogue, to be Mosaic.

Just as these prophetic and poetic declarations regard the necessity of the preponderance of the Spirit in the worship of God according to the law, and the emptiness and utter worthlessness of all forms of worship which lack this Spirit, so the Old Testament history is full of most instructive and striking features from which may be plainly seen the same relation of Spirit and form in that worship of God which was revealed, in the Old Testament dispensation, as well pleasing to God,—a circumstance urged both by Stephen in his defence, and by Paul in his discourse at Antioch. It is true that no one has ventured so thoroughly and comprehensively to bring forward this undeniable preponderance of the spiritual element ; no one has undertaken to build up a new elevation of the Church on this spiritual

foundation, and an elevation, too, destined, gradually and for a long time, to receive within it the whole Church of God at present existing on earth. But, on the other hand, it must also be considered that, never before, had the contradiction between the outward worship of God in Israel, and the Spirit, appeared in a form so glaring and dreadful as in the time of the primitive Church. In order to prove this, we need simply refer to the death of Jesus, and to the martyrdom of his two witnesses, Stephen and James; for the cause of this threefold murder was uniformly the opposition of the hypocritical worship of God to the direct testimony of the Spirit of God. And on this point, it is of importance to observe that Paul does not proclaim and establish among the Gentiles the liberty of the Spirit, without the form and constraint of the law, until he has, on each occasion, convinced himself of this utmost resistance of Israel against the Spirit of God. But since never hitherto in history had the resistance of Israel to the Spirit of God manifested itself so obstinately and wickedly, it is quite natural and necessary that the opposition of the Spirit, which, in the history and Scriptures of Israel, had always existed against all outward, spiritless formality in the worship of God, should now also appear with a power and a greatness never hitherto seen. We thus see that Paul, although, to all appearance, thoroughly opposed to the customary and universally acknowledged estimation of time and place for worship, is yet far from coming into conflict with the Old Testament order. He rather points out, and presses the consequences of this order, in opposition to the apostacy of his people.

But if such be the case, another inference necessarily follows, viz., that this opposition of St Paul to the Old Testament regulations as to time and place for worship, must assign a limit to itself. For we must always bear in mind that the original and natural relation, as it is founded in the whole order of the world, but, especially, in the constitution of human nature, is this:—that the external and the internal, the bodily and the spiritual, should penetrate each other in such a manner, that the external and bodily shall be the corresponding manifestation of the internal and spiritual. It is according to this principle also, that that which, in the worship of God, is original and natural, is correctly defined and determined in the Israelitish order of worship, viz.,

that the external relations of time and place are regarded and treated as the direct self-evident manifestation of the Spirit; and that, for this very reason, the Spirit does not require any special, distinct, and separate self-manifestation. If, then, some other relation has to come in, the ground of this rests solely in something unnatural which has intervened. Thus, in like manner, our body, created by God, is nothing but that side of our spirit which is turned outwards; but, by sin, our body becomes flesh, which wars against the Spirit; and hence the necessity arises that the Spirit should maintain and manifest its nature independently, without, and in opposition to the body, until the opposing nature of the flesh be overcome; with the view of rendering a new union of body and spirit possible and necessary, upon the foundation of the dead flesh. It is just the same will of the flesh which has taken possession of the external forms of the worship of God, ordained by God himself; and it has done so by venturing to use, and array against the Spirit, that which had been given as an expression and manifestation of the Spirit,—thus perpetuating one of the most heinous crimes which the world has ever seen. In this crime, recorded and visible in the whole history of the world, the necessity is implied that the worship of God in spirit and in truth shall manifest itself and prove its power, in the history of the world, and throughout the world, altogether apart from, and in opposition to, Jerusalem, and Israel's order of festivals. But this internal form of the worship of God can and will as little remain, as the reaction of the life of the Spirit against the working of the flesh in the single individual. But when shall the Spirit have established its independence in this domain of the world's history? When shall the flesh be killed in this sense, and to this extent?

Evidently it is then that the spiritual power of the worship of God shall have been triumphant in the world's history, when, among the Gentiles, and in all lands which, in their past history, have been carried as far away from God as Israel was brought near to Him—yea, whose temples and feasts are consecrated to demons, while, in Israel, the sanctuary and feasts of Jehovah are established,—it is then, when thus, in every place where all natural and historical circumstances were in opposition to the spiritual worship of God, it, nevertheless, by its own strength,

shall have obtained authority and acknowledgment. This victory of the Spirit in the history of the world, and throughout the world, is, at the same time, the death of the flesh in the history of the world, and throughout the world. When Israel shall perceive that God no longer inhabits the praises of the chosen people, as formerly (Ps. xxii. 4), but the praises of the Gentiles in the most distant isles (Zeph. ii. 11), then the pride of their flesh shall sink and die for ever (Deut. xxxii. 21), and Israel shall seek their God with their whole heart, as they have never done before. But when such shall have taken place, then also shall the time have arrived when the internal nature of the worship of God shall again, in the natural and original way, be brought into harmony with the external order. For then both of these things shall have become manifest:—the wickedness and the death of the flesh which opposes the Spirit, and the original supremacy and independence of the Spirit which can maintain itself without the flesh. What else then can remain but that this independent, self-existent, self-manifesting Spirit should again create and establish a form and body corresponding to itself? But is there, for this purpose, a new creation required? Certainly not; for, since the external form and body of the Israelitish worship of God was not of man but of God, the reason of its having degenerated into flesh was not in the ordinance, but in the will of the flesh which intervened. Now, since the latter has been overcome, the establishment of the corresponding form by means of the Spirit cannot and dares not be any thing else but the restoration, to its original place, of the form willed by God. But has not the Apostle Paul, in his career, now reached a point where this final issue is suggested to him? We found that in the two culminating points of his ministry, both in Ephesus and in Corinth, he was penetrated with the conviction that he had attained the goal of the present course of his ministry among the Gentiles; and this conviction had been more and more strengthened on his last journey, inasmuch as brethren from among the Gentiles accompany him to Jerusalem, with their charitable gifts, and, by their presence, ever and anon remind him of the entering in of the Gentiles, and of their uniting themselves to Israel. He knows that the ultimate end of the Gentile Church can, and will be none other than the entering into the

organism of Israel appointed by God; and hence it may easily be understood that he, as the Apostle of the Gentiles, thinks it to be his duty, at this period of the preliminary union of the Gentile Churches, now also to set the example of submission to the Divine ordinances, in the same manner as he had taken the lead in the maintenance of liberty. And has not the view which the Apostle took of the importance of the present moment in the development been fully confirmed by a very important event? Have not James, and all the elders of the Church at Jerusalem, and, hence, the whole body of the legitimate representatives of the spiritual Israel, acknowledged and praised the Gentiles who had come up with their gifts as sufficient and valid witnesses of the work of God in the Gentile world, and thus already realized the final conversion of Israel to that God who had manifested His presence and Spirit among the Gentiles? And when Paul, now at Caesarea, looks back upon his journey, is it not an expression exactly in harmony with his position at the moment, when he designates this his journey as the pilgrimage of a pious Israelite still walking according to the customs inherited from his fathers?

To the charge of the accusing Jews, that the Gospel was the by-way of a sect, St Paul then farther opposes the assurance that after this way he was serving the God of his fathers (ver. 14). In this assurance, he again declares that faith in Christ is only a peculiar kind of Judaism, or rather, since Paul does not, at the time, think any other Judaism admissible, that it is the only form of true Judaism. This is just the reverse of the supposition according to which the Sanhedrim treated the Apostles from the outset, as if, by proclaiming the name of Jesus, it was intended to set up, and get acknowledged, some god strange to Israel. Since, then, Paul asserts that, after the way of the Gospel, he worshipped the God of his fathers, the reply serves the same purpose as that which St Peter had in view, when he showed that the name of the salvation, which he proclaimed with his companions, was none other than the name of Jehovah. Since, however, Paul, far more than the original Apostles, bore the appearance of one who had apostatized from the law, just because he had undertaken to found, and to spread among the Gentiles the kingdom of God, without a visible union with Israel, he

feels also that his bare assurance, that on this apparent by-way he was serving the God of his fathers, would not be sufficient. For this reason, he refers, for farther proofs, to two marks which could not fail to be decisive, viz., the agreement of his faith and hope with the faith and hope of the other Jews.

This oneness of faith, Paul assures them, extends to all which is written in the Law and the Prophets. This expression suggests to us the idea of the Old Testament writings, as such. Since even the designation "law" may comprehend all the Old Testament writings, (John xv. 25), the two words conjoined—"law and prophets"—have, much more, such a signification (see Tholuck, Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount [Clark's Biblical Cabinet]). But the circumstance that Paul conceives of both the law and the prophets in the form of a book, clearly shows that the Scripture here stands before the mind of Paul, not merely as to its contents, but as to its form also, viz., as something which is written. We see this from the use of the prepositions κατὰ "throughout the book of the law" (Meyer), and ἐν "in the book containing the prophets" (see vii. 42). In both of these respects we must examine, with greater minuteness, the assertion of the Apostle. As regards, in the first place, the contents; the word πᾶσι, which has here a special emphasis, expresses the idea that Paul here speaks of the whole contents of the Old Testament writings, without any exception. Hence, such a limitation as even Bengel here introduces, "de Jesu Nazareno" is altogether inadmissible. The assertion of Paul has, moreover, any meaning at all, only when his faith in the Scriptures has altogether the same extent as the faith of the Jews (see Josephus c. Apion. i. 8; Philo i. 639; ii. 136, 581, 628). And it is just because Paul is anxious to confess his full communion of faith with the Jews, that there can scarcely exist any doubt that "law and prophets" here designate the whole of the Old Testament writings.

People have, in modern times, got much into the habit of thinking that, in the Apostle Paul, we possess an authority for disregarding the Old Testament Scriptures. It cannot be denied, indeed, that, in the doctrine of the Apostle Paul, a well-defined opposition to the law in the Old Testament has been brought out. For, in submitting to the law, he not only sees a lower ground,

allied to heathenism, but now overcome (comp. Gal. ii. 23—25, iv. 3, 4; Coloss. ii. 8, 20); but he even recognises in the law the power of sin and death, and hence, shews the law as the real contrast to the Gospel which has the power of life and salvation (2 Cor. iii. 6—18). Men have been by no means wrong in seeing, just in this circle of ideas, the real central point of Paul's doctrine; and it is to the credit of Protestantism that it has again brought out and established this knowledge. St Paul, accordingly, very readily appears as the one among the Apostles who has for ever confirmed and secured the independence of the Gospel, by having entirely and decisively freed it from the authority of the law—this foundation of all Judaism—an authority which had hitherto been considered as valid and unapproachable; just as Luther penetrated to Protestant freedom only by completely throwing off the fetters of hierarchical order. At a period of comparatively modern time, men imagined that they were obliged to assume, as essentially implied in all evangelical conviction, this rejection of the absolute authority of the law, in the case of the original Apostles also; and they endeavoured to evade and set aside, in the best manner possible, all the opposing passages. But, since New Testament Exegesis has become more careful, they have been compelled to abandon this attempt, and have come to the conclusion that, in the first stage of the proclamation of the Gospel, there cannot be discovered any clearness as to the relation between law and gospel, and that hence the Apostles have not yet arrived at any really spiritual and free appropriation of the evangelical principle. But, in that case, the merit of the Apostle Paul rises, of course, so much the higher. And hence it is, that in the most recent turn of a criticism, which assumes to be theological, and to be under the protection of this pretended teaching of Paul, men imagine themselves entitled to continue that undervaluing of the Old Testament writings; just as J. J. Griesbach, in his preface to De Wette's contributions to the introduction to the Old Testament[1] (see i. xi. xiv.), in his time brought forward the Pauline doctrine with incomparable simplicity, in order to defend and justify De Wette's disgraceful attacks upon the authority of the Old Testament Scriptures. From this position, a declaration regarding the whole

[1] Beitrage zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament.

contents of the Old Testament Canon, such as is here uttered by the Apostle Paul, must, of course, appear altogether impossible. Baur also is, therefore, so thoroughly convinced of the apocryphal character of this declaration, that he imagines that all that is requisite, in order evidently to shew the absurdity of it, is to add to the words: πιστεύων πασι . . . . . γεγραμμένοις, the clause, "hence also the command in Gen. xvii. 14" (see Der Apostel Paulus, S. 211).

If, indeed, the opinion which modern theology has formed of Paul, and which negative criticism has fully carried out, were correct, such a declaration as that under consideration could never have been made by the Apostle. But it has been altogether overlooked that such a view is not that of the Canon, but of Marcion. There is no doubt that the aberration of Marcion would have long ago become most instructive, and would have gone far to lead to a right understanding of Paul's position with reference to the question at issue, had it not been that, following the example of Neander, men had got accustomed to see in Marcion a precursor of the Reformation; whereas Polycarp called him the first-born of Satan (see Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iv. 14). The notion which some men hold upon the subject of Paul's position with regard to the Old Testament is an entire delusion; and, hence, it is not to be wondered at, that Luke's authentic account of Paul will not harmonise with that fancy. And it is certainly a very suspicious sign, that even those who undertake expressly to give a connected representation of Paul's doctrine, either altogether pass over his doctrine regarding Scripture, as Dähne and Baur, or endeavour to settle it in a manner the most unsatisfactory, as Usteri (see Lehrbegriff. S. 196—206, 6th edition), or, finally, begin, indeed, at first to touch upon this point, but immediately let it slip again, as Neander does (see Geschichte der Pflanzung &c. ii. 525). An unbiassed consideration of the authentic declaration of the Apostle Paul shews that one must free oneself altogether from the common notions on this point, in order to get at a right understanding of the Pauline doctrine in question.

In this context, it will be sufficient to direct attention to two points. By a little attention, the fact very soon forces itself upon our notice, that Paul does not think the law, as it is given

in the Old Testament, to be, in itself, something absurd or ungodly; on the contrary, he himself calls it holy, just, and good—a spiritual law (see Rom. vii. 12, 14). But then, the question immediately arises as to how this conviction could exist by the side of those other passages regarding the power of the law as leading to sin, to death, and to judgment. As long as both of these views are allowed to stand side by side with each other, that view will always very readily obtain the victory which recognises, in the declarations regarding the goodness of the law, a vanishing element only which still belongs to an earlier point of view. But when we consider, more minutely, these two opposing thoughts, we must not, by any means, simply place them beside each other, but must bring them into connection with one another. That such must be done is sufficiently proved even by the fact, that these two trains of thought are found connected just in that passage which treats, directly and properly, of the significance of the law for Paul's point of view, viz. Rom. vii. 7—25. And, indeed, the case really stands thus;—that the two aspects of the contrast so little exist beside, and independently of, each other, that, on the contrary, each, by itself, points to the other. For by what is it that the law revives the dead sin, condemns the committed sin, and even slays the sinner himself? Just by this, that it represents the direct reverse of man given over to the power of sin;—that it contains and expresses the Divine idea and form of that same man who has determined himself to an ungodly form and manner. The law is precisely that which is good, and just, and holy; to which that which is evil, and unjust, and unholy in the natural man, forms the contrast. The law, in one word, is the Spirit, against which the flesh of the natural man is warring. As long, then, as these two—the law and man—are without one another, there is rest; the law lies in the inclosure of its letter, like a corpse in its coffin, while man is walking undisturbed, in his own ways, and enjoying full life. But as soon as the law approaches man, or man receives the law so as to become conscious of it, the existing opposition becomes visible and effective, and ends with the law's victoriously maintaining its position, and with the death of the sinner. Thus the Pauline doctrine of the sin-awakening, condemning, and slaying nature of the law so little excludes the

conviction of the Divine origin and contents of the law, that, on the contrary, this conviction is necessarily implied in that doctrine.

And as little does the antithesis of bondage under the law, and liberty in Christ, fall within the subjective sphere, so as to be comparable to a lower and a higher, to an unilluminated and an illuminated position, the two aspects of which might be respectively designated by the terms, law and gospel. The law which man is bound to observe as long as he lives, and from which he cannot get free in any other way than by his death (see Rom. vii. 1—3), is not, by any means, an imperfect and unenlightened notion of man's obligation to works of righteousness on the one hand, and of God's wrath against works of unrighteousness, on the other (so this relation is viewed according to the teaching of Schleiermacher and Hegel); but it is a superhuman power which cannot be abrogated by any human thoughts or efforts, but set aside only by another power, likewise Divine; and since two Divine powers cannot be opposed to each other, even this can, of course, be done only in such a way that, by this power of grace, that power of the law must be, completely and for ever, recognised and established. Any limitation of the acknowledgment of the Divine authority of the law is therefore, in this context also, so little intended and spoken of, that, on the contrary, it is just the manner in which Divine grace works and creates life, which contains the actual confirmation of the eternal authority of the law, as the Divine law.

The second circumstance which many are accustomed to overlook, when bringing out the position of St Paul in reference to the law, is this:—that Paul recognizes, and sometimes proves, the limits of the law from the law itself. From this it follows, that it is not by means of some other and higher law that he assigns limits to the law, but in consequence of the Spirit which is inherent in the law itself, *i.e.*, that according to the supposition of Paul, the law itself has assigned limits to itself. This relation to the Old Testament is most clearly and fully brought out in the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is just the special object of that Epistle to show, on the one hand, the insufficiency and defects of the Old Testament dispensation, and, on the other, to prove, in contrast with it, the perfection and eternal fulness of the New Testament

dispensation. And what are the means made use of for this purpose? None other but just the contents of the Old Testament Scriptures themselves. This Epistle shows to us, in a very striking way, that in the facts, institutions, and declarations of the Old Testament, a spirit is manifested which has assigned, in a very definite manner, the measure of their authority and significance to these facts, institutions, and declarations; and which, at the same time, distinctly points out and describes those facts and ordinances which have no limitation, but are intended to remain with unlimited authority. And in doing so, it is implied that the whole contents of the Old Testament are, from the very foundation, pervaded by the Spirit of God, before whom all truth and wisdom is manifest, even to all eternity. But it is well known, and universally acknowledged, that there are the most manifold points of resemblance and connection betwixt the doctrinal contents of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the doctrine of St Paul. This applies also to the point in question. Nowhere, it is true, has this argumentation from the Old Testament been carried through with such consistency by Paul; but it may easily be conclusively proved that Paul occupies the same position in reference to the Old Testament as we find maintained in the Epistle to the Hebrews; that, especially, he entirely agrees with the fundamental principle of this Epistle regarding the eternal Spirit of God embodied in, and pervading the whole contents of, the Old Testament. For, in what manner is it that Paul proves that the condition of bondage under the law is not the condition of perfection and salvation, but that this preference is due to conscious and maintained liberty? He proves it from the law, viz., from the contrast which the law points out betwixt Hagar and Sarah, betwixt Ishmael and Isaac (see Gal. iv. 21—31). How does Paul farther prove that the carnal descent from Abraham did not bestow any claim to the promises and salvation of God, as the Jews imagined? Again, from the law, which expressly points out that, outwardly, Jacob and Esau possessed equal claims to the inheritance of the paternal blessing; but that from the very commencement, by God's counsel and predestination, this blessing was destined for Jacob (see Rom. ix. 10—13). It is for this reason that even there, where the legal ordinances cannot, in their natural and original sense, be applied, he discerns, never-

theless, declarations of the Spirit, who is not limited to definite times, but has respect to the Church of all times. Thus, *e.g.*, the law of the ox treading out the corn is, to him, a Divine authority in the question regarding wages for the labourer in the kingdom of God (see 1 Cor. ix. 8—10). Nor has Paul failed expressly to declare his principle, as to the nature of the contents of the Old Testament,—the principle which lies at the foundation of such applications of the Old Testament Scriptures. Thus he writes to the Church of Gentile Christians at Rome; "For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning" (see Rom. xv. 4). Even as to the ground of this abiding, comprehensive, and universal authority of the Old Testament Scriptures, Paul has given an express declaration in writing: "All Scripture (see Hofmann, Weissagung u. Erfüllg. i. 43; Wiesinger on 2 Tim. iii. 16) is Θεόπνευστος (breathed through by God), and is profitable for doctrine" (2 Tim. iii. 16). And in order that no one may believe that, for the purpose of being thus susceptible of instruction, a lower degree of faith and knowledge is supposed, let it be remembered that Paul has written the passage just quoted, with a direct reference and application to his enlightened and beloved friend Timothy. It is evident that there is no middle ground betwixt the passage last quoted, and the declaration of the Apostle which we are now considering. We shall, however, not overlook the confident objection of Baur, in order at once to show in this instance, that the teaching and conviction of Paul is on the side of belief in the whole contents of the Old Testament Scripture. Baur refers us to Gen. xvii. 14; and his opinion evidently is, that since Paul so emphatically denies the universal validity of the commandment of circumcision (see Gal. v. 2), and even practically carries out that view (see Gal. ii. 3, 4), he could not, by any possibility, have believed in the Divine authority of this commandment; and the more he had asserted a freedom from the law of circumcision, and the yoke of bondage founded upon it, the less he could have believed in the whole contents of the law and the prophets. But as soon as we conceive of this faith, with that spirituality and vitality which we find in Paul, the direct reverse will be the case. For it is just because Paul believes in the whole contents of Scripture, and, hence, also in Gen. xvii. 14, that he is the more convinced that

the Galatians are not at liberty to submit to circumcision; that Titus must not yield to the demand of the Judaizing teachers for circumcision. For it is just because Paul believes in the whole contents of Scripture, that he cannot overlook the fact, that the commandment of circumcision was given to Abraham, only after he was justified by faith (see Gen. xv. 6): that the sign of the covenant was then only in its proper place, after Abraham had already become something before God,—namely, a just man (see Theolog. Comment. i. 1. 199). From this, Paul rightly infers that justification had not been made to depend upon circumcision (see Rom. iv. 9—12). But what is the object of the Judaizers in Galatia and Jerusalem? These wish to put circumcision before justification. And what does Paul oppose to that? Among other things, a belief in Gen. xvii. 14,—a belief which, as is shown by Rom. iv. 9—12, refers not only to the contents, but also to the succession of time of the passage in question.

We are thus irresistibly led to the conviction, not only that St Paul could not have hesitated to profess his belief in the whole contents of Scripture, without becoming unfaithful to his position, but that this confession was the necessary result of his taking up the ground which he occupied. May we now, as regards this point, go a step farther, and maintain that this profession is precisely that which is most appropriate to the present stage of Paul's history and ministry? I believe that we are entitled to make this assertion, if we pay particular attention to the form of the profession itself. We have already seen that, in this profession, Paul has respect not only to the contents of Scripture, but also to the form, inasmuch as he conceives of the believed contents as brought in the form of a written book, and professes his belief in these contents, as being written. Now if Paul has really spoken these words—and, hitherto, no argument has been advanced to induce us to doubt this—we cannot but suppose that this circumstance concerning the form is, in such a connection, of no little importance.

There are no people in whose history writing forms so important and so momentous an event, as the people of Israel. Israel had seen on Sinai the signs of a present God, and had learned from these that Jehovah is not manifested in anything in the world; that, on the contrary, although He is the Creator of heaven and earth,

He might do away with heaven as well as earth, and that, hence, He must be a Spirit. In addition to, and under these signs, Israel had heard from the mountain the living words of Jehovah; and in these ten commandments, the general impression of the signs was comprehended. Israel learned and knew that Jehovah was a Spirit, and they themselves flesh. The people, therefore, trembled, and moved away, and stood afar off (see Exod. xx. 18).

Now, these ten words which Israel heard, under such an experience, were written on stone, by Jehovah (Deut. x. 1—4); and the two tables of stone on which these ten commandments were written, formed the foundation of all the holy things of Israel (see Exod. xxv. 10—22); and thus the people were indelibly impressed with the importance of writing. It was in a manner so incomparably solemn and significant, that these ten commandments were written, which appeared as the most concentrated expression of the Divine Spirit, and thus had fully brought out the carnal nature of Israel. These words were destined for Israel, for they were spoken in the ears of Israel; and since they were spirit and life, the place where they were to be received and reverenced was none else than the spirit and heart of Israel. But this place has as yet no existence; inasmuch as Israel is carnal. Is, then, all relation betwixt Israel and these words to be, for this reason, cut off? No; for Jehovah has chosen this people to be the bearers of His words; and although Israel flee from the living words of Jehovah, yet they do not wish to be separated from Jehovah and His word (Exod. xx. 19). For this reason, writing was chosen to receive and preserve the word of God in the meantime. For writing also can receive and preserve the word of God, because it is nothing else than the word become visible. But this place—the writing—is after all just the opposite of the place originally and specially designed for the words of God. For, by the writing, the spirit and the words are manifested as being external to, and opposite to man (Jerem. xxxi. 33). And Paul has had the very same experience of the nature and importance of writing as Israel once had, and has obtained it in the same way. There was a time when he was in friendly relations with the law; but it was a time of delusion. That which he considered to be the law, was, at bottom, only the opinion which Pharisaism had formed regarding the law: It was

the law of God made of none effect by the traditions of the Pharisees and Scribes (comp. Matt. xv. 6). And as little as, at that time, the real law of God was known to him, as little did he know of himself; he appeared to himself to be a just and blameless man (see Pil. iii. 6), whilst he was a transgressor of the law; he appeared to himself to be living, while he was, in reality, dead in sins. By a revelation from heaven, the law of God, in its true nature, then came upon him. He now, in his innermost soul, felt that it was spiritual, while he saw himself to be carnal, sold under sin (see Rom. vii. 14). And it was the letter of the law which could not fail to represent itself to him as making clear this relation of enmity between the spiritual nature of the law, and his own carnality. The law now no longer appeared and came to him in the form of oral tradition, and, therefore, darkened by Pharisaic additions; it no more addressed to him the formula: "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time" (see Matt. v. 21, 27, 31, 33, 38, 43), but in the clear and original form, darkened by nothing, and addressing him in the formula: "It is written." How, and whence do we know that? Paul ascribes to the letter the power of killing (2 Cor. iii. 6); and since he, at the same time, and more distinctly, declares that the ministration of death had appeared engraved in letters on stone (see 2 Cor. iii. 7), we see that, by the letter which killeth, he expressly understands the law appearing in letters engraven on stone, the killing power of which he had experienced in himself (see Gal. ii. 19; Rom. vii. 10, 11). At the same moment, therefore, the significance of the spirit, and the significance of the letter in the law, are revealed to the consciousness of Paul; and this experience of the killing power of the letter, as that form of the Spirit which reveals the carnal nature of man, has become so indelible that it expresses itself as an ever valid opinion, in the words: *τὸ γράμμα ἀποκτείνει.*

But how is it that St Paul ever thinks of again entering into a relation with the letter, the nature of which had become so pernicious to him? In the first place, so much is clear, that the new life cannot have arisen to Paul out of the letter; for the power which brought death to him cannot, at the same time, have given back life to him. It is true that Paul vindicates the quickening power of the Spirit, as well as the killing power of the letter. It

is also true that the letter is a form of the Spirit; but since letter and Spirit are distinguished from, and contrasted with, each other as death and life, we certainly cannot conceive of the quickening Spirit in the form of the letter. But we are led to the idea, that although the letter be a form of the Spirit, yet there must be, besides another more immediate and original manner of the Spirit's manifestation. The history of Paul gives us a satisfactory disclosure regarding this other form of the Spirit's manifestation. For, whereby does the new life spring up in Paul? After all his faculties and energies had been broken, after the whole power of his present life had been killed, and he had been rendered entirely a passive recipient,—when he was praying (see ix. 17), Ananias came to him, and spake to him words of Spirit and life: and, from that moment, light and life entered into him. Here, also, there was a form of the Spirit which came to him; but it was a human form, sustained and produced by a human voice, body, and person, and, hence, a form which does not stand and remain separate from, and external to man; but is appropriate to human nature, and is, therefore, for man, also the original form; while that other form always supposes a special, extraneous reason of its existence. Hence, we recognize in Paul's history a two-fold form of the Spirit; the one, when the Spirit employs a human person as His organ; the other, when it employs the elements of the world and of nature for its manifestation. In the first mentioned form, His manifestation is in an unrestrained manner; for the human person, animated and moved by Him, works in a free manner, corresponding with his nature. In the latter form, He is shut up and is bound, is separated from spontaneous life, and exists as nature. In the first mentioned form, he, therefore, not only exists as a man, and in an unconstrained manner, but produces also human and free life. In the latter form, He, as He exists in the form of lifelessness, works, even out of himself, stupor and death.

But is it necessary that this antithesis, which indeed exists for the beginning of life, should always remain in vigour? Nature and a state of bondage, it is true, form the antithesis to person and freedom; but is it not implied in the nature of personality and liberty to determine themselves in reference to nature and bondage, and, hence, to remove the original antithesis? And must not this arrangement hold so much the more true in our

case, that we have seen that the nature and bondage of which we here speak, are nothing but forms of the same Spirit created by the Spirit, and forms, too, of the same Spirit who prevails also in the personality and liberty. Even where the personal and free development of the life of the Spirit proceeds altogether in a normal way, the necessity will appear of again uniting with the form of the Spirit existing in nature,—a necessity which has its foundation in the dualism of human nature. For this reason, even in that life which the Spirit of God has formed from the very beginning, and created in all and every relation,—even in the life of Jesus there is found the necessity of seeking in that form which the Spirit has assumed in nature, *i.e.*, in the Holy Scriptures, the divinely appointed rule and limit of the free and personal life of the Spirit. Here, then, there is, of course, not the antithesis of the letter, for the flesh does not oppose the power of the Spirit; but, on the contrary, the life of freedom and personality, wrought and pervaded by the Spirit, unites with that form of nature which the same Spirit has created from the beginning and thoroughly penetrated, and which is, thereby, developed and completely wrought into a perfect human life. Thus it is explained that Jesus received the Holy Scripture into the secret of His innermost life (see Matt. iv. 4, 7, 10; John xvii. 12). But in every other free and human life, the flesh is another acting energy, beside the Spirit. The operation of the Spirit is, therefore, exposed to fluctuations and interruptions; and, from this cause, the necessity of a union with the life of the Spirit, as existing in nature, will be still more felt, and will become more urgent. If, now, we look to the Apostle Paul especially, we find in him the form of the free and personal life of the Spirit, in its highest degree and development. As no Apostle has experienced the killing power of the letter to the same degree as the Apostle Paul, so also none has, to the same degree as Paul, experienced and manifested the quickening power of the Spirit in His original form. No authority restrains him; he does not know Jesus after the flesh (see 2 Cor. v. 16), but only the Lord from heaven who is the Spirit (see 2 Cor. iii. 17, 18). He does not enter into any connection with the Apostles until he has been confirmed in his office and dignity by signs from God. He goes into the Gentile world, as being sent by the Lord who is the Spirit, and whose Spirit creates

liberty wheresoever He prevails. And, everywhere, Paul opens up the way of the Spirit and liberty, in not binding the Churches any farther than they must consider themselves bound by the Spirit communicated to them; so that we might say that Paul had, for the first time, revealed and manifested the liberty of the Spirit as a power pervading and influencing the whole world. But, just on this account, there exists, in the whole extent of his ministry, for Paul, in addition to the two reasons already pointed out, a third, why the free life of the Spirit, after having expanded itself, should again unite with Holy Scripture, and thus obtain its natural perfection. Thus the circumstance will be accounted for, that none of the Apostles has laid such stress upon the Holy Scripture, as just the Apostle of the Spirit and liberty. On the other hand, we learn from this fact, that the designed and emphatic reference to Scripture must everywhere, and hence also in the development of Paul, be considered as a second and finishing element. It is, therefore, altogether natural that it is in the second Epistle to Timothy (see 2 Tim. iii. 14—16)—which, in all probability, is the last Epistle of Paul—that we find the most express and emphatic declaration of the Apostle regarding the necessity and profitableness of Scripture. We are, accordingly, well entitled to say that the present confession of the Apostle as to the whole of that which is written in the form of a book, does not only, in general, appear to be quite in keeping with the Apostle's views and doctrine, but also to be quite appropriate to the present period in the course of events.

All this would appear more simple and obvious, were it not that, with regard to the Scripture, the false theory had been propagated, that the Divine nature of Scripture required that, in the development of the spiritual life, it should occupy the first, and not the second place; and that this is commonly held up as the true Protestant view. For this reason, it may still farther help to a better understanding and illustration of the Apostle's declaration in question, and of the present period in the history of events during this earliest age of the Church, if we devote a few words to the refutation of this so-called Protestant view. As a proof of the importance of the order pointed out by us, it may be sufficient to state the universally-known circumstance, that the post-Apostolic Church at first developed itself far more according

to the free form of the Spirit, than according to His natural form; that it was far more guided by the παράδοσις ἀποστολική, which everywhere was more in union and harmony with the real state of things, and with the various conditions and relations, than by Holy Scripture. Although this has often been found to be singular and surprising, yet it is so little so in reality, that it is nothing more than the altogether natural effect of the influence of the Apostles, and especially of St Paul within the Gentile Church, which shews itself in this. But, wherever the post-Apostolic Church was called to perfect itself by casting out and warding off extraneous influences, there, as naturally, and quite in keeping with the order, the union with Holy Scripture takes place. In the same order, the renovation of the Gentile Church at the time of the Reformation took place also. For the Reformation is not, as is believed by many, primarily and chiefly a restoration of Holy Scripture, so that Luther's living contact with Holy Scripture would need to be considered as the real point where the great work of God began and had its origin. Luther did not at all fare better with the letter of Holy Scripture than did St Paul. The letter slew him; but Luther, too, found his Ananias; this mediator of the new life was, for Luther, that pious monk who, in a lively manner, proclaimed to him and impressed upon his soul, the belief of the Church in the remission of sins. It is in this manner that the free, independent, confident, and assured Christian man was created in Luther. In the farther course of the movement and development, and especially of the rising conflicts, this free Christian man saw the necessity of the limit, but saw, at the same time, that since he was born of the Spirit of God, no other limit or rule was congenial to his liberty than that which was formed by the same Spirit, viz., the letter of the Holy Spirit. Now, as there has not existed in the Church any individual in whom the Pauline liberty had gained such an ascendancy as it did in Luther, so there is none in whom the Scripture, with its supreme authority, has been so thoroughly received; and the order and succession of time was, in Luther, altogether the same as here it has been shewn to be in the history of Paul. Our assertion that Paul's bringing forward the Scripture, which we meet in the passage under consideration, corresponds precisely with the stage of events, and with the development of the

Apostle and his congregations, will be still farther confirmed and illustrated, when we attend, on the one hand, to the analogy offered by that Church which allowed itself to be guided by the testimony of Luther, and, on the other hand, to the deviations which, on this point, we find in the Swiss Reformation. It corresponds entirely with Luther's course of development, that the Augsburg Confession develops and maintains the doctrine of the liberty and independence of the Christian man; but, as regards the Divine formation and government of this life, it so far passes it over altogether in silence, that it does not contain any definite doctrine concerning it. This, however, is reserved for the Formula Concordiae, which brings the movement to a close; and it has performed this task in a manner entirely appropriate; inasmuch as it puts its doctrine regarding the Scripture before all other doctrines, thus holding it up as a principle, and assigning to it a primary significance and importance. But, on the other hand, it takes good care not to remove the Scripture from the second place due to it, to the first; for it does not designate Scripture as the origin and fountain of life—as was afterwards done by an unsound mode of thinking and speaking—but as a rule for doctrines which had already arisen in another way, and were in existence. But, on the other hand, the inversion of the natural order, which we found in the development of the spiritual life, is, along with all its pernicious consequences, clearly manifested in the Swiss Reformation. Zwingle takes a course opposite to that of Luther. He has, first and chiefly, directed his attention to Scripture; and it is from it that he obtains light for ascertaining deficiencies and wants. Thus it happened that, as early as in 1516, he declared to Cardinal Schiner that the Papacy had no foundation in Scripture (see Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation, iii. 58—65). It is already implied in this fact, that in this circle, the life of liberty and of the Spirit could not be fully worked out; inasmuch as the Scripture was introduced at by far too early a stage, and in too narrow a manner; and, hence, wrought only in the way of thwarting and obstructing, instead of perfecting and closing. But that this haste in bringing in the Scripture is no proof of a greater reverence and love for the Scriptures, is seen in that struggle, in which, more than anywhere else, it was the question to settle the

conviction into a firmness and security sufficient for the building up of a Church, viz., in the controversy about the Lord's Supper. For here it was Luther whose ardent faith entered into a union with the letter of the Spirit, and thus produced a confession, living, and spreading life; whilst Zwingle, owing to all the visions and delusions conjured up by his reason, was not able to penetrate to the holy letter of the Spirit, and, hence, also, was not able to produce a firm confession on the point in dispute.[1]

We have thus found that St Paul, by confessing his belief in the whole contents of what is written, not only did what, in his heart, he felt to be a duty and a necessity, and what his present position urged him to do, but also paid due deference and regard to existing circumstances. But shall we be able to claim for him the same liberty from all outward constraint, and from all accommodation, as respects also his confession of the hope, with which he suddenly, as by a leap, transfers us from the deep Past of the law and the prophets to the last and most distant Future (ver. 15)? We must first realize what, in the mouth of Paul, is meant by the resurrection of the dead, both of the just and of the unjust, which the Jews also, as Paul affirms, expect. It needs only to be mentioned that in Paul's system of doctrines, known to us from other sources, this hope has also a place, in order to see at once that, of all events of the Future, this resurrection of the dead, both of the just and of the unjust, is the last and the closing one. For the resurrection of the just is the com-

[1] If the English reader should find the above argumentation to be rather dark and unintelligible, let him not complain of the translator; for the German reader of the original will fare no better. Our author belongs to that class of theologians who have been unable to throw aside the jargon of modern German philosophy and speculative theology; so that, frequently, it is by no means easy to discover what they really would be at. It will, however, not be difficult to discover the drift of the author's argumentation; and though by no means prepared to go the whole length of the author, the translator yet thinks that he may safely allow the arguments to speak for themselves. As regards, however, the view which the author takes of Zwingle and the Swiss Reformation, the translator thinks it right to remark that Dr Baumgarten belongs to the ultra-Lutherans of Germany; and that, whatever, therefore, the reader may think about the soundness and merits of our author's arguments, he must receive his opinion about Zwingle only *cum grano salis*,—*Tr.*

pleted victory over death; but, if death, as Paul teaches, (1 Cor. xv. 26) be the last enemy, then this victory implies the completion. All that has gone before is, thereby, declared to be something imperfect and defective, and, hence, reduced to something subordinate, which must vanish before the glory of this final completion. But, on the other hand, everything preceding has been invested, by the resurrection, with its abiding, eternal right; for that which is raised from the grave is the body, the bearer of all temporal and earthly imperfections and frailties. By the resurrection, then, it is shown that all imperfections and weaknesses were attached to something eternal and imperishable, which is to be manifested as such at some future time, and thereby is to be glorified by being raised from its dark earthly form into one which is bright and heavenly. The resurrection of the just is, therefore, without doubt the highest and the last, before which all that is present must vanish; but, on the other hand, it is only the completion of what is here and present. In the same body in which sin and death have dwelt, righteousness also has had its abode; and, inasmuch as the individuals are called just, righteousness must have obtained the victory over sin and death during the life of the body: hence, the resurrection of the just is, again, nothing but a manifestation of what was here hidden.

The resurrection of the unjust is simply the reverse of this resurrection. Ever since the days of Cain and Abel, just and unjust not only live beside one another, but they stand also in constant alternate relations opposed to one another, so that the victory of the one is the defeat of the other, the joy of the one the sorrow of the other,—and so also the reverse. The destiny of the just can, therefore, not be fulfilled in any other way than by the fulfilling of the destiny of the unjust also. By the resurrection of the body of the unjust, all their doings and sufferings in this body, their whole development on this side of the grave, are likewise carried beyond death, and are, thereby, represented as pervaded by eternity. Here, also, the resurrection can only be the moment of completion: but what a completion! They have been unjust; unrighteousness was the centre of their individual lives; all their doings and omissions were, therefore, opposed to the will of God. When, therefore, by the resurrection of the

body, this rebellion against the will of God which has pervaded the whole life, and has penetrated through all the members of the body, is drawn to light from its concealment, nothing can remain but that the will of God, which alone has power, now that time is no more, should deliver up to destruction the whole man, body and soul. The separation of the just from the unjust, which pervades the whole history of mankind as the struggle of righteousness and unrighteousness, will thus be manifested, completed, and made eternal. If thus, in the resurrection of the dead, both of the just and of the unjust, the last and final issue is to be contained, we see that this last and final issue must receive within itself, and complete all that has preceded—the whole earthly and bodily development of all individuals. In this it is implied, then, that whatsoever Paul may consider and maintain as an element of development, is contained and comprehended in such a view, although it be not expressed in this confession of the hope. And in order to sum up, and state, and prove in one word, that Paul could very properly so express his hope of the Future, as we find it in this discourse, we need only bring to remembrance one declaration of his, in which his purpose evidently is to bring before us the ultimate issue of all developments, and in which, nevertheless, he says substantially the same thing as he does in the verse now under consideration. It is the passage, 2 Cor. v. 10: *τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν, εἴτε κακόν.*

But although St Paul might hold that, in this confession as to the ultimate end, everything was contained which appeared to him to be important and necessary as a feature and condition in the development, the question still remains, whether his passing over in silence all these features and conditions of the development could have taken place without constraint, while, everywhere else, we find him so earnestly engaged in pointing them out. For the peculiarity of Paul's position consists just in this:—that he traces the whole development of man up to its first hidden beginnings. The development within Judaism has so entirely turned to without, that the spiritual foundation had been altogether covered and overspread; and Paul himself had, in his history, experienced this perversion as the greatest evil. He was, therefore, peculiarly

fitted, and was chosen, to point out the first beginnings and hidden foundations of salvation, in order that the delusions which had crept in might, for ever, find a powerful and effective resistance. The first thing with him, therefore, is the knowledge that there is no difference among men, that all are equally sinners, that the difference between righteous and unrighteous has entirely vanished (see Rom. iii. 22, 23). In this absence of all distinction, in this equality of all the children of Adam, one person is made so much the more prominent. It is Jesus the Christ, who is the only Just One among all the unjust (see xxii. 14). It is in Him that the only foundation of all admissible distinctions among men lies. But, inasmuch as the person of Christ presents an aspect both concealed and manifest, it again belongs to the position of Paul chiefly to take cognizance of the concealed aspect of this person, which forms the foundation, namely, the suffering and dying of the Lord Jesus Christ; for which reason he is able to comprehend his whole doctrine in the one sentence: that he knew nothing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified (see 1 Cor. ii. 2). And as Paul beholds in the cross and blood of Jesus Christ the eternally abiding objective ground of all righteousness and of all salvation; so, the subjective ground of righteousness and salvation which abides for all temporal development is, to him, faith in Jesus Christ. Hence, the distinction between just and unjust is viewed and represented by him as the distinction between believers and unbelievers (see 1 Cor. vi. 6; 2 Cor. iv. 4; vi. 14, 15; 1 Tim. v. 8; Tit. i. 15; Rom. xv. 31; 2 Thess. ii. 10, 12). Now, although all these beginnings and foundations of the developments are fully acknowledged in the view here expressed by the Apostle, yet it cannot be denied that there is the appearance of something unbecoming in the Apostle's passing over in silence the things peculiarly entrusted to his testimony. But even here, our doubts and objections may be turned into a new confirmation of the faithfulness with which Paul's speech has been transmitted to us; for the silence, which must certainly have appeared strange at another time, is perfectly appropriate to the present moment in the history. For after his return to Jerusalem from the lands of the Gentiles, Paul may consider himself as at the end of his career. But since he is, from the outset, conscious that his Apostleship has been added only in

order to serve in the kingdom of God a purpose which has become necessary through the hardening of Israel, and that, hence, it has to step into the background as soon as this object has been attained, we need not wonder that he does not here seek earnestly to maintain the ground necessary for his ministry among the Gentiles, but that it should appear to him more appropriate to make his peculiarity merge into the Old Testament type, given and intended for all normal development. Hence the distinction between believers and unbelievers appears to him under the form of the completion of this antithesis, as a separation between just and unjust; and, in the same manner, the hidden foundation of righteousness and salvation, at the first appearance of Christ, steps altogether into the background in the view of the completion of this righteousness and salvation at the second coming of Christ; just as the Old Testament, and, accordingly, the Synagogue also (see Bertholdi, Christol. Judaeorum, p. 203—226) direct their hope chiefly to this end. This confession of his hope which Paul here makes is thus quite in accordance with his conduct in joining, on the advice of James, the society, and undergoing the purification of the four Nazarites.

The more the accusers of Paul denied all true Judaism, although they had given themselves out as the representatives of true Judaism, the more anxious is the Apostle to show that he was holding fast all that could properly be considered as true Judaism. His indestructible affection for Jerusalem, his firm faith in the God of his fathers, in the Scriptures, and in the hope of Israel, he has already expressed. He now finally declares his unchangeable love for his people themselves; and to prove this, he refers to a fact which could the less be denied that it formed, although disfigured, one of the chief points of accusation against him (ver. 15, 18). That which Paul here expresses is by no means new to us; on the contrary, we conceived ourselves bound to suppose, even in the former account of the journey of the Apostle to Jerusalem, the same thing to which he here expressly points. It must, however, be very gratifying to us to find here one express confirmation of what we inferred from the former facts as to the thoughts of Paul. Paul says that after the lapse of several years (on διὰ ἐτῶν πλειόνων, ver. 17, see Meyer), he had arrived to bring alms for his nation; and,

in this, it is not only implied that the bringing of the collection formed the main object of the journey; but it is also intimated that this bringing of the offerings must be regarded as a result of his absence, and by which the latter was justified and accounted for. The collection, indeed, is here mentioned, not merely in a cursory way, as Schneckenburger (see Zweck der Apostelgesch. S. 113) and Zeller (see l. c. S. 548) represent the matter. It is placed in the very centre of the whole context; so that we are obliged to consider in what way this object is to be conceived of in connection with the other object which is pointed out. The best explanation of this point is given by Paul himself, who represents the collection as being destined for his people. For it is not enough to remember, as Meyer does, the fact that the greater part of the faithful in Jerusalem consisted of such as were Jews by birth; we must add that, by these offerings of the faithful from among the Gentiles, Paul intended to exhibit the sentiments of love and gratitude which were felt towards all Israel, and which were, hence, bestowed upon the faithful in Jerusalem, only because they were considered as the representatives of the whole people. From the express declarations of the Apostle himself, we know that his last wish and purpose is thus to make an impression upon his people Israel by means of the Gentiles, and that he entertains the sure hope that this widely indirect way will at length secure the wished-for consummation (see Rom. xi. 13, 14, 25, 26). From this ground taken by the Apostle, his entire absence from Jerusalem, and his whole ministry among the Gentiles, may very well be conceived of, as having for their sole object the anxiety of Paul to present the offerings of charity, and the whole Gentile Churches, in order to produce upon the whole of his own people a salutary impression which might lead to repentance, and conversion to God. In this view we are confirmed by the addition, προσφοράς, which brings us within the very same circle of ideas. For, from the subsequent relative clause, we see that Paul, by the offerings, understands the sacrifices which he had given for the four Nazarites. We have thus a confirmation of what we found ourselves obliged to assume above, viz., that Paul took the expenses for this communion with the four Nazarites, from the collection made by him for the poor of the Church of Jerusalem. Schneckenburger, indeed, is of opinion that the

reference to the payment of the sacrifice for the Nazarites was something so trifling that it could not have been considered as alms for the people (see l. c. S. 113). But the matter must plainly be viewed and estimated, not externally, but internally. In such a light, the application of the collection for that purpose is sufficiently important and significant, for this reason :—that, by these first fruits, the whole collection is represented as a completion and fulfilment of the previous offerings of the Gentiles for Israel, which were made under the Old Testament with a reference to the sanctuary and service of God. To this may be added the circumstance that, by this sole application of the collection, the whole intention of the Apostle, viz.. to make an impression upon Israel by means of the offerings of the Gentiles, is really carried out, as far at least as our account goes. In thus declaring the part which he personally took in this application of the Gentile collection, Paul once more comes back to his intention of worshipping in Jerusalem, inasmuch as the purification connected with this matter had to be performed in the place of worship. At the same time he thereby gets an opportunity of decidedly denying, once more, the false charge, of having profaned the temple (vv. 18, 19).

After both parties had thus pleaded before the tribunal of the Procurator, Felix had to pronounce sentence. He might well have acquitted Paul, inasmuch as the accusers had no reply to make to the victorious representation and challenge of the Apostle; and Felix might the rather have done so, that "he had a perfect knowledge of the way" (ἀκριβέστερον εἰδὼς τὰ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ver. 22, see Meyer), which is the progress of Judaism, viz., Christianity; and, hence, knew so much that there was no crime against Judaism contained in the Christian faith. But since Felix was in a position similar to that of Pilate, *i.e.*, he had become dependent upon the favour of the Jews, because of his manifold acts of injustice (see ver. 27), he did not venture to act in this matter in direct opposition to the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem. He, therefore, deferred the final decision until, as he said, he should have an opportunity of hearing Lysias (ver. 22). But since no mention is afterwards made of Lysias, it is evident that the Procurator's plea was a mere subterfuge. But why is Felix not induced to yield to the members of the Sanhedrim in the

same cowardly manner as once Pilate did? Felix himself is not stronger than Pilate; but the time has now come when the order and law of the Roman empire are to be proved to be of effect and advantage to the kingdom of God. It is this power which keeps him from delivering up Paul. Of this order of the Roman empire, we are also reminded by the expression, *ἀνεβάλετο*, ver. 22. For Grotius remarks concerning it: "The best translation of the word is by *ampliavit eos*. This term occurs, in this sense, in Cicero pro Licinio and III. Verrina; and in Liv. i. 4. The standing expression of a judge deferring judgment was 'amplius,' sc. cognoscendum." But the fact that Felix was convinced of the innocence of Paul, is seen especially in the less severe, and kinder treatment which, from that time, he granted to the Apostle (ver. 23).

The farther account of the relation of Felix to Paul (vv. 24—27), is, in the first place, intended to explain to us the reason why Paul, although he had made so favourable an impression upon the Procurator, was, nevertheless, not liberated, but, on the contrary, after an imprisonment of two years, was, on the occasion of a change of the Procurator, handed over, still bound, by Felix, to his successor Festus. But if it had been Luke's intention merely to state the reason why the cause of Paul was thus protracted, this might have been accomplished in a shorter and easier way; and this so much the more, that we have always found our author to be rather laconic than verbose. How many features are there even in this passage which, if nothing else were intended than a bare statement of these reasons, could not fail to be regarded as, at the least, superfluous. We are thus compelled to look for something else and something more here, than the reason why no decision was come to in the cause of Paul; and that "something else" and even more is obvious enough. It is the enormous wickedness of the Procurator which is, at the same time, to be here illustrated. Luke, indeed, does not remove the veil from the relation betwixt Felix and Drusilla the Jewess. But, by the circumstance that he introduces Paul appearing before Felix by the side of this, his Jewish wife; that Paul, after having borne testimony to the faith of Christ, begins, in a more confidential manner, to speak (*διαλεγομένου*, ver. 25), of righteousness, chastity, and a future judgment;—that Felix suddenly be-

comes terrified, and finishes the conversation in a very suspicious-looking way, by sending away Paul;—by all these circumstances, Luke intimates that the chastity of Felix has as little remained spotless, as we have found his righteousness to be unshaken. And, indeed, how very unnatural in itself is this connubial connexion of Felix, the representative of the Roman Emperor, with Drusilla, a Jewess, and representative of the daughter of Zion! This is, at least, as unnatural and unsound in itself, and as contradictory, as the desire to hear of Paul's belief, and his sending for the Apostle for this very purpose, and his becoming afraid, and his suddenly breaking off the conversation when the Apostle reminds him of righteousness, chastity, and judgment. Now, we know from other sources, that Drusilla had been married to the Prince of Emesa; but that, at the instigation of Felix, she had been induced, by the magician Simon, to desert her husband, and had afterwards married Felix (see Winer, bibl. Realwörterb. i. 278). In these facts, we have the confirmation of that to which allusion is here made. We are thus reminded that we are not, by any means, to conceive of, as a pre-eminently just and pure man, this Felix who had granted to Paul protection against the persecutions of the Jews. But what is still worse is the circumstance that even the Gospel—this power of God for sin—is in vain for him; inasmuch as he does not avail himself of it, although he knows it (ver. 22), but, as we afterwards hear (ver. 25), withdraws, in a cowardly manner, from the strictness of it. But Luke lets us see still farther into the wickedness of this Roman; for we are told that Felix was base enough to think and to expect that money should have been given him of Paul for his liberation. He had, no doubt, perceived that Paul enjoyed a great amount of love and esteem from many Jews and Gentiles. He, therefore, thought that it must have been very natural for his prisoner to offer a considerable sum for his liberation, according to the custom of bribery which was, at that time, very prevalent. The Procurator, the highest representative of the Roman constitution and order of law, thus not only appears as a deserter from his own order, as Grotius remarks; but we also see that he seeks, by his own wickedness, to destroy the only remaining means of drawing him out of his worthlessness. He was terrified by the Apostle's preaching of repentance. In this he

had a sure testimony of his real inward state. By this sign he might have attained to a clear knowledge of his own character. But he knows only how to drive away the venerable form of the preacher of repentance; while, at other times again, he conceives of him as one like himself who considers every means, for every purpose, to be lawful. And in such awful internal confusion he has the baseness frequently to call Paul into his presence, to commune with him, and to suggest to him, very plainly, the possibility of a bribe. Thus, two years elapse; and Felix has to leave his office before any decision has been pronounced in the cause of Paul. Not the slightest doubt remained in the mind of Felix as to the innocence of the Apostle; but, since that does not come forth, which he had desired and expected as the condition of his liberation, he does not pronounce it. For why should he, now that he is to leave office, loose the Apostle? He will surely not do so, were it even only for chagrin at the disappointment of his hopes. If Paul and his friends do not now offer him a sum of money, they can, in future, neither be of any service to him, nor do him any injury; while, on the other hand, the Jews might, by their testimony, either aggravate or ameliorate his case at Rome, when his crimes should come to be inquired into. For this reason—to show the Jews a pleasure, as Luke says (ver. 27)—he left Paul bound; on which words Grotius properly remarks: "He wished to please the Jews, and, at the expense of an innocent man, to turn away the wrath of the people; for which reason Pilate also had Christ delivered up to the sentence of death. Felix had perpetrated many horrible and iniquitous things against the Jews, for which he was accused before Nero, but escaped punishment through the influence of his brother Pallas. This Josephus, Antiq. Hist. xx. 7 (xx. 8, 9), narrates."

The comparison which Grotius here very aptly makes between Felix and Pilate leads us, however, to another aspect of the matter which likewise deserves serious consideration. If it was the intention of Felix to shew a pleasure to the Jews, why did he not do so as completely as Pilate had done? Why does he not deliver up Paul to the Jews who desired this, under the pretext of trying the case more minutely in Jerusalem, but, in truth, in order to kill him by the way (xxv. 3)? The more

plainly we have seen that it was not a sense of justice which kept back Felix from this step, the more are we obliged, here again, to fall back upon the power which the Roman order exercised in the course of this history. This power appears here as so much the more effectual for the protection of the Apostle, and for the service of the kingdom of God, as the wickedness and worthlessness of the individual who was called to represent it were great. We certainly do not err in laying stress upon this thought, and finding in it the reason why Luke has so minutely and intentionally brought these features of the character of Felix before us. From this we are to learn that the praying and wrestling of the saints among Jews and Gentiles indeed so far succeed, that while the order of Israel arrays itself in complete hostility against the kingdom of God, the order of the Roman empire affords protection and free scope to him, in whom, at present, the mainspring for the promotion of the heavenly kingdom rests; but that it is not implied in all this, that the personal representatives of this order of the Roman empire do partake, in the same degree, of the kingdom of God. From this we are to take a hint, and to learn that it is possible for a contrariety to exist between the office and the person, as regards the spiritual relation of the Roman empire to the kingdom of God. It is in the passage under consideration that, for the first time, the advantage of this relation meets us so significantly, not only in its deep internal cause and foundation, but also in its successful effect; and it is for this reason that the appearance of this glaring contrariety has also a most serious aspect. For if, in this territory, person and office come into conflict, on whose side will the victory lie? In the present case, it is true, we behold a victory on the side of the office; but will this superiority always remain? The history of Jesus, in its relation to the preceding Old Testament history, plainly shows that the centre of all human development lies in the person; for the result of the history of Jesus is none other but that He is the Christ (see ii. 36). Jesus, then, is He in whom the Old Testament anointing has found its truth and realization. For, in its critical periods, the Old Testament history shows that the office demands more than the temporary bearers of it are able to perform, and this contrariety between person and office always occasions a struggle which carries on the development;

so that from this point of view we must say that the high, Divine dignity of the office pervades all times, and seeks a bearer and representative which comes up to the measure of its requirements, and when it has not found him in an anointed person, it goes on until it does find him. Now the Old Testament office has found its perfect bearer and representative in Jesus, because He is anointed with the same spirit of which He was born; so that this spirit of the office penetrates to the very foundation of His person. This relation between office and person must so much the more be obvious to us, as it meets us, in a very peculiar manner, in our context. We have just seen that the highest and most important office which existed, at that time, on earth, had been so completely disfigured by the persons who bore it, that it could scarcely be recognised,—yea, had been perverted to its very opposite. Instead of recognising, in the presence of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and of his companions and offerings from the heathen world, an indication of salvation yet in store for Israel, the Sanhedrim, with a hatred which exceeded all bounds, had rejected the last offer of the mercy of God; and we know that the condemning word of Paul, which is a repetition of the threatening of the Lord himself, is to be considered as the last trumpet which makes the judgment of God's anger to fall unavoidably upon this highest office, and all which is thereby represented. But the reverse of the Sanhedrim we find in the Apostle Paul. Here is the very person in which the whole Israelitish character and peculiarities are comprehended. But, on the other hand, the office which Paul bears does not point so much to Israel as to the Gentiles. In the same manner, then, as the office of the Sanhedrim is judged and broken, because the entire contrariety betwixt the person and the nature of the office has manifested itself; so Paul, although he was already given up to death, is called farther to lead and guide the Israel of God (see Gal. vi. 16), just because his person possesses that which is wanting to the Sanhedrim.

In the face of these Divine signs, and facts, we cannot doubt that the good and salutary elements which are in the Roman constitution, and which here manifest themselves for the protection of the Apostle Paul, will then only be lasting, when this order of things is borne by persons who enter into it as Divine,

with the consent of their wills. But if it be represented by such individuals as Felix—a prospect which is here opened up—then, and in the long run, the Divine and salutary elements of this order itself must be corrupted, by being dragged down into the abyss of worthless persons; for it is, after all, the *person* which is ordained to be the central point of development. We may here see, even now, what will be the result, when all the Divine elements of salutary order within the Roman empire shall be destroyed by worthless individuals. As it is this empire to which the Church is given, until the kingdom of God enters the world; the order, perverted and corrupted by individuals, will, on the advice, and at the desire of false Judaism, turn its power against the holy representatives of the kingdom of heaven.

The account which follows (xxv. 1—12) regarding the conduct of Festus towards Paul, likewise shows that we are not mistaken in these our views respecting the section, xxiv. 24—27. For the point of this account also is just that the person of the Procurator affords so little protection to Paul that he must soon feel himself entirely deserted in that quarter. Here, also, it is again the constitution of the empire which, in opposition to the inclination of the Procurator, maintains its authority, and secures deference to itself.

At the very first mention of Festus, Luke at once directs attention to the maintainance of the laws of the Roman empire, by using the significant expressions ἐπιβὰς τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ, xxv. 1, in order to report the arrival of the Roman Procurator, at Caesarea, the seat of government (see Grotius ad v. 1). The haste also with which Festus, as soon as he has arrived at Caesarea (after three days, *i.e.*, as Wetstein correctly remarks, allowing himself only one day of rest) sets out for Jerusalem, the national centre of the whole province, shews the Roman official, who is fully conscious of his new position (see Grotius, ibid.). The conduct of the Jewish High Priest and of the chief of the people, forms a striking contrast to this dutiful conduct of the Roman official Instead of Ananias, a certain Ishmael had, meanwhile, been invested with the high priestly dignity (see Joseph. Antiq. xx. 8. 8, 11). Now, although at that time there existed in Jerusalem much confusion and disorder (see Joseph. Ant. xx. 8, 10, 11), yet the High Priest, with the chiefs of the Jews—by whom we

must understand not only those occupying a high official position, the members of the Sanhedrim, but also respectable private individuals—have no more urgent business than to make a solemn and formal representation (ἐνεθάνισαν) to the new Procurator concerning Paul; and this with the deceitful and wicked intention of way-laying and killing him (ver. 2). Let us now consider that two years have elapsed since the first movement against Paul, and that Ananias, who had been personally attacked by Paul, has been removed from the High Priest's office. We find, nevertheless, that the same mortal hatred, the same murderous deceitfulness against the Apostle Paul, still exist,—yea, that this deadly hostility seems, in the meantime, to have seized all in Jerusalem who were invested with any public position and honour. This hostility against the ambassador of the God of Israel is evidently an open and wicked violation of all official duty on the part of Israel. We thus see that, in the same degree as we find the representative of the Roman empire anxious to keep within the duties of his office, the magistrates in Israel are hasty and zealous to act wickedly against their very nature. At the same time, it here again becomes very evident what that is which delays the filling up of their wickedness. The apostacy is completed in the request made to the Procurator, and in the plot of the High Priest and chiefs of the people, against the life of the Apostle Paul. But even this full measure of apostacy on the most sacred place on earth, has not the power of carrying out and executing its own wickedness; this power is given to that kingdom which, according to God's will, possesses the world. It is true that this very kingdom is instigated, by the wickedness of the apostacy, to carry out its evil intentions; but it is the good order of this very kingdom which opposes itself to such a desire. For the answer which Festus gives to the representations of the High Priest is, that since Paul was imprisoned at Caesarea, there did not exist any reason why his case should be judged of any where else (vv. 4, 5). Although, as we shall immediately see, Festus would fain do a favour to the Jews, it is repugnant to his sense of the order of the empire that a cause should be proceeded with according to the desire of the accusing party only. Paul is now, after all, imprisoned in Caesarea, the residence of the Procurator. The ordinary course, therefore, is that his cause should be decided

there also, and that his accusers should proceed thither. The less personal energy we can, according to one account, ascribe to Festus, the more we are, in this instance, struck with the significance and importance of the Roman legal order; the more distinctly we are referred to the hidden kingdom of the Spirit, and again compelled to assume that, even in the kingdom of the world, there still exists a good power which is in alliance with all the holy souls which, with ardent love, and unutterable intercessions, accompany the Apostle Paul, during his stay at Jerusalem and Caesarea.

The counting of the days (vv. 6, 7) until the act of the law-proceedings at Caesarea is intended again to manifest, as much the minute faithfulness of the Roman Procurator in the discharge of his duty, as the wicked haste of the Jews urged on by hell. But Luke does not think it worth while to report the many and grievous charges which they laid against Paul (ver. 7). From the short statement, however, regarding the defence of the Apostle, we may infer that, to their former charges, they have added one more, viz., that Paul was teaching and raising rebellion against the emperor. In this false accusation, the mystery of iniquity is exhibited in the most shocking light. In presence of the representative of the Roman empire, they had formerly denounced and given up their King and Messiah as a rival to the emperor (see John xix. 12, 13), and had thus completed their wickedness and their rejection of the Holy One and the Just, by compelling Pilate to condemn Jesus. The same wickedness was, as we have seen, substantially repeated in the Church of Thessalonica (see xvii. 7). Here, it now appears, a third time, in the formal proceedings before a court of law, before the Roman Procurator, on the part of the deputies from the Sanhedrim. The deep mystery of this wickedness consists just in this:—that that knowledge which, in consequence of their Divine calling for the mysteries of the kingdom of God, was given to the Jews, is applied by them, not to build up, but to destroy the sanctuary of God, by their betraying the mystery of God committed to them into the hands of the enemies of the kingdom of Heaven. It is a repetition of the treachery of Judas. Judas knew the place in the garden of Gethsemane where Jesus met with His disciples, because the Lord had admitted him to His communion of love, friendship, and in-

timacy; but this secret, entrusted to him to be the innermost secret of his soul, he betrays, and sells to the enemies of his master and friend. Thus the Jews knew very well that the King of Israel has, and finds His adversary in the king of the kingdom of the world, and will at length destroy him as being the Antichrist, and hence, that if Jesus be the Christ, the emperor of Rome must be the Antichrist. This knowledge had been given to them that they might hasten and be anxious with all their heart to render allegiance to their King anointed by God, and that they might be protected and safe from the king of the world; but, instead of that, the Jews used this mystery which had been committed to them by the Lord, to give effect and energy to their deadly hatred against the ambassador of Christ, and profaned it for the purpose of denunciation and calumny before the heathen tribunal.

But if the acknowledgment that Jesus is the Christ and the King of Israel implies that the king of the kingdom of the world must be the Antichrist, and that, hence, Jesus is the enemy of the emperor of Rome—how then is it that Paul can defend himself against this charge, by saying: *οὔτε εἰς Καίσαρά τι ἥμαρτον* (ver. 8)? For, of course, we cannot, by any means, imagine that Paul avails himself of the ignorance of the Roman Court of justice, and slights the accusation advanced, because the Gentiles could not attain to a right notion of this accusation, as long as there was nothing definite brought before them as to such an opposition between Christ, the King of Israel, and the emperor of Rome. We must rather assume that, on this point, as well as in everything else, Paul proceeds with a good and clear conscience. But although we know from other passages (see 2 Thess. ii. 5—12) that Paul fully acknowledges and receives within the circle of his thoughts this revelation of God, which was here abused by the Jews, yet he might, with a good conscience, maintain that he had not, in anything, offended against Caesar. And this he might do for two reasons. In the first place, he knew, from former experience, that the order of the Roman empire was not yet given up to wickedness, and he had received new proofs of this in what had so recently occurred: He, therefore, saw and acknowledged that, at present, the emperor was still called to protect and defend from wickedness. But, farther, even if we conceive

of wickedness as so far advanced in its progress, that the head of the kingdom of the world is ready to receive the mystery of wickedness within himself personally, and to carry it out in the world :—even then, the testimony for Jesus, who is to consume the Man of Sin with the Spirit of His mouth (see 2 Thess. ii. 8), is not a sin against the Emperor. For, inasmuch as he wrongeth his own soul (see Prov. viii. 36), this testimony against him is not a sin, but the only way for his life and salvation which still remains open; and hence, instead of being a sin against him, it is rather the highest benefit which can be conferred upon him.

Paul's defence has, in this respect, evidently given full satisfaction to the Procurator. For the point in the Jewish accusation which could not but make the deepest impression upon him, was, of course, that which referred to the Emperor. But if, on this point, the vindication of Paul had not been fully satisfactory, he would not have been disposed to give the matter over into the hands of the Jews; but would have felt himself called upon to proceed himself in the matter with energy. The whole proceedings have evidently produced upon Festus the impression that there is no real crime in question; but seeing how anxious the Jews are to lay something to the charge of Paul, he is willing to do them a pleasure, and to deliver up Paul to the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, in order that, there, the Jews might bring the religious differences (see vv. 18, 19) to a decision under his superintendence (ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, Grotius: me praesente). It is true, indeed, that Festus does not entertain any suspicion of the intention of the Jews to assassinate Paul (see ver. 3); but, since their violent hatred against Paul could not have escaped him, his yielding to the Jews in the case of a Roman citizen cannot be excused. And it is this which Luke seeks to intimate to us, by using here, in reference to Festus, quite the same expression (*θέλων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις χάριν καταθέσθαι*, ver. 9) as he had applied to the last act of the thoroughly corrupted Felix (see xxiv. 27). But since, notwithstanding his partial weakness, Felix so far observes the forms of the law, as to ask Paul whether he would wish to be brought to Jerusalem, Paul thus obtains an opportunity, by his decided conduct, of vindicating and claiming the order of the Roman empire against the wish of the Procurator.

The more that Paul feels that the Procurator, by his partial

position towards the Jews, is leaving his sure ground within the order of the Roman law, the more he feels himself impelled to bring this order to bear, with all energy, in favour of the cause in question. It is true that, in this matter, Paul is struggling for himself, and for his own life; but it is here much more obvious than formerly it was in the prison at Philippi, that this self-defence with the weapons of law is as little of a selfish nature, as it was when he, at first, renounced the advantages of his Roman freedom and his inviolability, when the Roman authority attacked him at Philippi. For, by the last appearances, and, especially, by the last direct comforting address of the Lord himself (xxiii. 11), Paul must have been assured that God would protect and deliver him from the rage of the Jews, by means of the order of the Roman law and empire; and that, hence, this power was appointed and shown to him by the Lord. As soon, then, as Paul perceives that the Procurator, whose official duty it was to maintain this order, begins to hesitate and waver, he thinks himself bound, by his decision and firmness, to bring into exercise this power, which he had pointed out to him by the Lord, not less for the glory of the Lord than for his own deliverance. In the conduct of the Apostle, however, we must admit his knowledge and wisdom, as well as his firmness. For every thing which he brings forward about the order of the Roman law is founded upon a real knowledge of the subject. For, inasmuch as Paul perceived that his rights as a Roman citizen, which he possessed by birth, as wel las his Israelitish rights (see xxii. 28), were destined to form an essential element in his Apostolic ministry, and, hence, formed a necessary part of the providential preparations for his Apostolic vocation (see Gal. i. 15), he could not fail to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the nature and extent of his rights. And this knowledge is now, for the third time, most splendidly manifested here, where not merely some formality was concerned, as at Philippi, nor even a torture, but nothing less than the life of the Apostle. To the insidious question of the Procurator, he replies: "I stand at Cæsar's judgment-seat" (ver. 10). Upon this answer, Grotius remarks: "He is fully entitled to call that judgment-seat, which the Procurator held in the name, and by a commission from Cæsar, 'Cæsar's judgment-seat.'" For thus Ulpianus, L.I.D., writes regarding the office of Cæsar's Pro-

curator: 'Whatsoever is done, or performed by the Procurator of Cæsar, is thus approved of as if it were done by Cæsar himself.'" And if Paul afterwards adds the assurance: "to the Jews have I done no wrong," and, in doing so, appeals to the better knowledge of the Procurator himself (ver. 10), this, in my opinion, can only mean that a reason why it might be deemed necessary to treat the cause before the Sanhedrim, would exist, only if he had committed a crime against the Jews. And, from ver. 18 it appears that Paul has not been disappointed in the Procurator in this respect. By expressing, however, his willingness to die, if he had committed any thing worthy of death, Paul wishes to intimate that he submits to the law as a higher Divine power; and his farther declaration: "No man may deliver me unto the Jews in order to do them a pleasure," just thereby becomes emphatic; for, just to the extent that a man is willing to submit to the law, to the same extent is his claim strengthened, that the benefits of the law should not be withheld from him. With the words: *οὐδείς με δύναται αὐτοῖς χαρίσασθαι*, Paul, moreover, makes a direct appeal to the order of the law, against him who, at that time, represented it. For, by these words, Paul plainly intimates that, in the apparently innocent question of the Procurator (ver. 9), his own personal danger had as little escaped him, as the Procurator's partial solicitation of the favour of the Jews. And we shall, of course, upon this point give a more ready credence to the words of Luke: *ὁ Φῆστος δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις θέλων χάριν καταθέσθαι* (ver. 9), than to the exculpatory representation of the Procurator himself before King Agrippa. But as soon as Paul perceived that, by the person and character of Festus, he was as little secured against the hatred of the Jews, as had been the case under Felix, he is no longer satisfied with having warded off the danger which threatened him at the moment, but he avails himself of a provision of the law which was able to protect him for the future also,—namely, the appeal to the Emperor. Although such an appeal was subject to several limitations, yet Krebs (de appellatione Pauli ad Cæsarem, pp. x.—xv.) shows that, in this case, it was perfectly valid. By this appeal, Paul knew himself to be secured against all wavering on the part of the Procurator; for thus it is said, L. xlviii., Tit. 6, 7, 8: "Lex Julia de vi publica tenetur, qui cum imperium potestatemve haberet, civem Romanum adversus provocationem necaverit, verberaverit, jusseritve quid

fieri aut quid in ullum injecerit ut torqueatur impediatve quo minus Romae intra certum tempus adsit." Even as regards the form, Paul takes a sure step, and is fully conscious of it, in saying : *Καίσαρα ἐπικαλοῦμαι*; for thus Macer L. xlix. Tit. 1, 2, writes; "Si apud acta appellaverit, satis est, si dicat: 'appello.'"

By the very prudent and energetic use of his Roman freedom, St Paul has thus not only secured himself from the rage of the Jews, but has also opened up for himself the way to Rome, whither his longings had already long ago directed him (see xix. 21), and with reference to which the Lord himself had lately cheered him (see xxiii. 11). And, in this event, we cannot fail to see, and to be struck with the strange revolution of the great opposing forces in the world which the event remarkably reflects. The rulers of the Jews avail themselves of their position, and of their insight into the kingdom of God, to deliver up, and to betray to the Roman world's power him who, in the present, is the principal supporter and promoter of that kingdom, and, thereby, in so far as they are concerned, constantly to repeat what Agabus had prophesied (see xxi. 11). The betrayal of the saints, by the Jews, to the Roman world's power, is, after the great examples of the sufferings of Jesus, always the introduction to the greatest distress of the Church,—as was seen even in the history of the Edomitic vassal of the Roman empire. But Paul tries the name of the Roman Emperor—a name which designates the head of the constitution of the Roman empire—in order to call in, for his protection, and for the promotion of his objects, that very same world's power, to which, as to the ungodly power, the Jews betray him for his destruction. And, lo! he succeeds. The Procurator, immediately before, was still favourable to the Jews; but after having heard the appeal of Paul, he, agreeing with his assessors, says: "Unto Cæsar thou hast appealed; to Cæsar shalt thou go" (ver. 12). And thus, as the representative of the Roman world's power, he becomes the executor of the wish which Paul had long ago entertained in his heart; the agent and performer of the counsel which the Lord had long ago determined upon in the case of Paul. While thus, by the rulers of Israel, the Divine ordinances of Israel are perverted to wicked and mischievous purposes against the kingdom of God; the order of the Roman empire—the real nature

of which is hostility against the kingdom of heaven—must, up to its highest authorities and head, serve and promote the ways and purposes of the kingdom of Jesus. Instead, therefore, of gratifying Jewish wickedness, as it did in the case of the Lord and of His apostle James, the Roman world's power appears here as the servant and promoter of the thoughts and purposes of God.

In this place, where this wonderful crisis in the history of St Paul is so clearly, and in all its decisive significance and importance, exhibited to our view,—and in the history of Paul, the history of the Gentile Church is presented and symbolized,—in this place we are, once more, led to the question: What new event has taken place, that the world's power occupies here, in reference to the working of iniquity, a position so entirely different from, and opposite to that which it occupied in the history of Jesus and His Apostle James? That such a position of the kingdom of the world towards the kingdom of God is possible, was, indeed, already shewn by the Old Testament history. For, although the fundamental character of the opposition of the world to the order of God is most clearly and strongly pointed out and exhibited by the historical and prophetical word of the Old Testament, yet, on the other hand, in some portions of the history of the world's power, under the Old Testament, there are not wanting single, very bright instances of an opposite tendency. I would only call to mind the conversion of Nebuchadnezzar,—the favour of Darius, the Mede, for Daniel,—the edict of Cyrus for the return of the Jews,—the promotion of the rebuilding of the temple and city of Jerusalem by Darius and Artaxerxes. But here, it is not chiefly the question about personal favour and predisposition towards the kingdom of God on the part of the world's power. On the contrary, it is just by the section of our history under consideration, that it becomes evident, that the representatives of the world's power, appearing and acting here, are altogether destitute of any personal interest in the protection of the Apostle, and the promotion of his objects. But in the background of this personal unwillingness, the favourable position of the power of the kingdom of the world for the advancement of the kingdom of God,—a power standing above the persons,—has been so much the more clearly and distinctly brought out. This change in the position of the kingdom of the world towards

the kingdom of God is so much the more astonishing, and stands so much the more in need of explanation, that the original and final relation of these two kingdoms has, just within the sphere in which we are, viz., in the Acts of the Apostles, with decisive power, been brought out by two prominent facts; namely, the crucifixion of Jesus, to which our history constantly refers, and the murder of the Apostle James, which our book communicates in a prominent place. If, now, we look back to the crucifixion of the Lord by the Roman Procurator, His ascension has, meanwhile, taken place. If this ascension were, as is frequently conceived, the final taking possession of the dominion, then, by that change, this revolution within the kingdom of the world would be accounted for in a simple way. But His ascension, and sitting at the right hand of God, is so little His final taking possession of dominion in the world, that, on the contrary, He, as the Lord of heaven, confesses that He is persecuted even in the present (see ix. 5). And was not James also slain by the sword of Herod, after the Lord had sat down at the right hand of the Father? This one fact, then, is a sufficient proof that the Lord's sitting on the throne in heaven neither, by itself, abolishes the existence and power of the kingdom of the world, nor even gives a different direction to its tendency.* Our question ought, therefore, to be more definitely expressed thus: Has there, since James was slain, any new element come into operation which could have exercised a determining influence upon the tendency of the world's power? Such a new element is the conversion of the Gentiles which has, in the meantime, taken place,—of the Gentiles who are, all of them, members of the Roman kingdom of the world, and are found, as larger communities, in many of the principal cities, and, especially, in the centre also of the Roman empire. Of these Gentile communities we know, that they are attached to the Apostle Paul with pure and strong love, and that they accompany him with wrestling prayer to the place of danger. This prayer of the saints in all the places of the Roman empire, presented and made effectual through the High Priestly office of the Lord in heaven, in the place of the Divine majesty (see Heb. vii. 25), is the power which gives the superiority and dominion to the good over the evil spirit of the Gentile world, the effects of which we meet with in Old

Testament history also. For the prayer of the saints, in the lands of the Gentiles and in the isles, who are members of the body of their Lord and Head in heaven, is an altogether new power that has entered into the history of mankind. It is by this power that the hostile, ungodly principle in the kingdom of the heathen, which the wickedness of the Jews has called into exercise against the saints of God, is kept down; while the good and God-ward principle, which rests on the original creation and order of God, is called into operation. It is by the intervention of this power, that the delivering up and betrayal of the Apostle Paul, by the Jews, into the hands of the Gentiles, is turned into a directly opposite meaning, just as the prophet Agabus had foretold (see xxi. 11); and it is by the same, that that which, in the Churches generally, and by Paul himself, was feared, and justly so, as the prelude of utter destruction, takes such a turn, by this new intervening element, that wickedness is thereby warded off, and righteousness promoted.

When, now, we look back to those prophetic voices, and to those frequently expressed fears within the Churches, regarding the issue of St Paul's journey to Jerusalem, we see, from a simple representation of the facts, that they have not been fulfilled; but, notwithstanding, we are not entitled to undervalue them, as merely human and subjective phenomena. For, on the contrary, we have clearly seen that the violence feared and threatened was not imaginary, but real. This violence, however, having been revealed in all its fearfulness to the congregations of the saints, by the revelation of the Spirit, was broken and overcome by the superiority of the Spirit, who, in the midst of their anguish and troubles, keeps the saints upon earth in substantial communion with their Head, removed into heaven, and before the throne of God. Hence, here also, as is so often the case in sacred history, the apparent non-fulfilment of a prophetic word is so far from being in contradiction to the Divine origin of such a word, that it is just this origin which forms the foundation on which it rests. But since some have imagined that they were entitled, by applying these words to the future history of the Apostle, to infer that Paul had never returned to Asia Minor, and, moreover, that he had never been relieved from the imprisonment inflicted upon him (see Baur, die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe S. 93—97);

it is our duty to see what might be inferred and said, as regards the future history of the Apostle, in the face of the turn which affairs have taken. So much is at once evident, that those prospects into the future, although they are of Divine, and not of human origin, cannot at all be urged as proof against the supposition, that the Apostle was delivered from his imprisonment which began at Jerusalem; for this much we learn from the historical account contained in the Acts of the Apostles:—that the violence which threatened danger and death had been overcome. The Acts of the Apostles, indeed, report the farther course of the history, only to the moment that Paul could continue his ministry at Rome without hindrance. We shall see that this, indeed, constituted the concluding one in that series of events connected with the history of the Church which Luke had chosen as the subject of his account. But the question, as to whether Paul is, or is not, delivered from the Roman captivity, when tried by the standard of the Acts, is merely a personal question, and is, therefore, beyond the limits of our account. But, nevertheless, in the turn effected in consequence of the prayers of the Gentile Churches, there may be contained some element which affords an answer to this question; and such, if I am not mistaken, is really the case. The Procurator says: "Unto Caesar shalt thou go" (see xxv. 12); and afterwards (see xxvii. 24) the Lord himself says to Paul: "Thou must be brought before Caesar." By means of these features, our account plainly intimates that, by the protection of the Roman constitution under which Paul had, at that time, been placed at Jerusalem, something more had been accomplished than what the Acts of the Apostles can or will report. We are not, it is true, expressly told what shall be effected by Paul's being brought before the Emperor; but there is a two-fold ground for supposing that the effect will have been favourable to Paul.

First—Considering the turn which events have now taken, and which is so distinctly brought out, it would be a contradiction that the head of the order of the Roman law and empire should have become hostile or destructive to Paul, after it has been so significantly expressed that, at the present moment, the principle of Roman order has become so decidedly favourable to the Apostle and his cause. But still more decisive is the word

of the Lord in xxvii. 24. For when the Lord comforts the Apostle with the words: "Fear not, Paul, thou must be brought before Cæsar," it cannot be supposed that these words should refer to the momentary danger only,—that Paul should only be assured of his deliverance from the imminent danger of death; because he had still to be brought before the Emperor at Rome, and it might, after all, be possible that he might be delivered up to death by the Emperor. If the Lord, in a way evidently intended to comfort him, speaks of his being brought before Cæsar, no other construction can be put upon this, than that it is intended to give to Paul a sure ground for the hope which he has undoubtedly placed on this highest court of appeal under the Roman constitution; that, on the ground of this word, Paul may expect from the Emperor the just settlement of his cause, and that, hence, there is the prospect of the complete overturn of the relation between the two highest courts of the nation,—the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, and the court of the Emperor at Rome. Although we cannot, by any means, here decide the question regarding the second captivity of Paul at Rome, yet, from what has been said, we cannot but infer that the Acts of the Apostles are far from being opposed, but are, on the contrary, decidedly favourable to, the supposition of a deliverance of the Apostle from his first captivity.

§ 34. THE VICTORIOUS DEFENCE OF THE APOSTLE PAUL BEFORE KING AGRIPPA.

(Chap. xxv. 13—xxvi. 32.)

When Paul was called to the Apostleship, he received the commission to bear the name of Jesus to the Gentiles, and kings, and the people of Israel (see ix. 15). We were of opinion that, in this Divine commission, there was indicated, in the first place, the order which the Apostle was to observe in his ministry, which comprehended the world, *i.e.* that he was first to proclaim the Gospel to the Gentiles, and to turn to the Jews, after this ministry had come to a certain close. And when we look to the real success, this order has, according to the account before us, been completely

observed. It is true that Paul everywhere goes, in the first instance, to the Jews with his preaching; but in doing so, he does not act so much in consequence of the commission given to him by Jesus, as because of the privilege due to Israel in virtue of their original calling. And we have seen, moreover, that this preaching to the Jews first, has been, in most cases, without success; and, even where it had, after all, some small success, that this has been fully counterbalanced by that hardening of the mass of the Jews, which was the result of Paul's preaching. On the other hand, Paul's preaching of the works of God among the Gentiles, through the name of Jesus, before James and all the elders of the Jewish congregations at Jerusalem, was attended, generally, with a really abiding success and effect. But this proclamation took place only after Paul had brought to a preliminary close his work among the Gentiles; and it is only now, after he had borne witness before James and the elders, and after he had, in accordance with the advice there given him, presented himself before the whole people, that he received from the Lord the testimony of His assent, that he had fulfilled his commission at Jerusalem (see xxiii. 11). But if these views be correct, we cannot but consider the kings mentioned in that passage as belonging to the Gentiles; and by this addition it is declared that the proclamation of the Gospel to the Gentiles will be such as to reach to the chief heads of the heathen nations, and will, even there, manifest its power and effect. Now, in the subsequent section of our book, Paul comes in contact with a king, for the first and only time within the limits of our account. Are we to recognise in that circumstance a fulfilment of that Divine commission, in the same manner as we received the account of the Apostle's witness in Jerusalem, as the fulfilment of the last end of that commission?

In the first place, it must not be overlooked that the royal dignity of Agrippa, before whom Paul here bears witness, is dwelt upon with special emphasis. Not fewer than eleven times (see xxv. 13, 14, 24, 26, xxvi. 2, 7, 13, 19, 26, 27, 30) is this attribute mentioned in the small section; and Paul himself does not omit to address Agrippa five times (xxvi. 2, 7, 19, 26, 27) in terms suited to his royal dignity. This circumstance alone seems to me to render it impossible to deny that the report under con-

sideration refers to that Divine commission. But ought not the chronological order,—according to which the witness before the king here follows that before the Jews, while, according to that announcement it was to precede that before the Jews—make us hesitate in admitting this supposition? But such hesitation cannot easily arise at this passage; for we have already seen that a new sphere of activity among the Gentiles will still be opened to the Apostle (see xxiii. 11); that, hence, neither is his ministry among the Gentiles already brought to a close, nor has the influence which is to descend upon the Jews from his Apostolic ministry been completed, during the days of his last stay at Jerusalem. Since, then, the sphere for the Apostolic activity of Paul has not yet been completed, there is no reason why a supplement to this activity should not here be first brought in.

But can we consider Agrippa as at all a king of the nations or Gentiles? Is he not rather a king of the Jews? And, hence, is not the circumstance of his being mentioned in this passage without any reference to the passage, ix. 15? Upon this point we may refer to our former discussions about the Idumean, and essentially Roman, and, hence, Gentile character of the family of Herod. For King Agrippa mentioned here is a son of Herod Agrippa, described, in chap. xii. of our book, as to his conduct and death; and we find in him the same characteristic features by which, in the earlier members of the family of Herod, we recognized the Roman and heathen peculiarities. He was brought up at the court of the Emperor Claudius (see Joseph. Ant. xix. 9, 2; xx. 1, 1); received his principality through the Roman Emperor (see l. c. xx. 5, 2; 8, 4; Bell. Jud. ii. 12, 8 and 13, 2). Besides, he could gain the love and esteem of the Jews as little as the other Herodians (see l. c. xx. 8, 11; 9, 4; Bell. Jud. ii. 17, 1); and when the open struggle was about to begin between Jews and Romans, he at first sought to act as a mediator (see B. J. ii. 16, 14), but at last openly went over to the camp of the Romans (see B. J. iii. 2, 4; 9, 7). The very circumstance, moreover, that he is here introduced by his heathen name alone, sufficiently shows that, in this context, we have to consider him according to his Gentile-Roman character only. This position of Agrippa, resting as it does on facts, can, of course, not be shaken by a few declarations of the Talmud, couched in

terms which are favourable to him (see Schöttgen, Hor. Talm. p. 481).

But when we regard the mention of King Agrippa from this point of view, we shall look upon this meeting between the Apostle Paul and this Gentile-Roman King, with an interest so much the greater that, in Herod Agrippa, the father of Agrippa mentioned here, we met with the height of anti-Christian enmity. When we look back to that event in the life of the father, we should expect that Agrippa the son, who, in all essential relations that come under notice, is like the father, will take up against the Apostle Paul a position similar to that which the father once adopted against the Apostle Peter. But since we shall immediately see that this expectation is not fulfilled, but that, on the contrary, Agrippa takes up and defends the cause of the Apostle with still greater zeal than did the Roman Procurators, the question: What has, meanwhile, taken place by which such a change and revolution may be accounted for? involuntarily presents itself, and urgently demands an answer. We here again see, from another side, what a great change and crisis has been produced in the relation of the nations to the Gospel, by the ministry of St Paul, and by its success among the Gentiles: For, to say it at once, this alone can be the reason why the son of Herod observed towards the Apostle a position entirely opposed to that which the father observed towards the Apostle Peter. The personal position of the individuals is, in both cases, the same; and whilst Herod Agrippa brings the enmity against the Gospel to a consummation in Jerusalem, and thereby renders irrevocable the transition of the Church from the Jews to the Gentiles; under Agrippa the son, the Church among the Gentiles is already founded, and, hence, for the first time, a communion between the territory of the Gentiles on earth, and the God of heaven, is established. And whilst Herod Agrippa, the father, as the representative of the present and actual heathen world's power, stands on the uninvaded territory of the nations where the power of Satan prevails (see xxvi. 18), Herod Agrippa, the son, stands on the same territory, invisibly surrounded by the power of the prayers which, from the hearts of the Gentiles, unceasingly rise up to heaven for the Apostle Paul, and against the evil power of the world.

From the course hitherto pursued in our account, the supposition will be forced upon us, that we must understand, from this point of view, the meeting of St Paul with King Agrippa; and, indeed, it really appears that the particulars of this account constantly lead our attention to this character of King Agrippa, and to this contrast to his father. Even the threefold mention of his sister Bernice (see xxv. 13, 23; xxvi. 30) is characteristic. It may, for suspicious criticism, be a circumstance well deserving of notice, that in Josephus also (see Joseph. Bell. Jud. ii. 16, 3) we find mention of quite the same participation by the sister in the public acts of Agrippa.' Considering things, however, as we do, in a historical point of view, by which the trustworthiness of the Acts of the Apostles is everywhere proved and confirmed, this circumstance has no particular weight with us. But we can, nevertheless, surely not help asking why it was that the company and presence of Agrippa's sister, Bernice, was mentioned at all by St Luke; inasmuch as it would appear that her participation has no bearing upon the object which we have here to consider. It seems as if Luke intended to point out a characteristic feature of the king, by thrice mentioning the female companion of Agrippa. For this communion is apt to raise suspicions, when we consider that the name of Bernice is not farther explained, and is not placed in any relation to Agrippa. Elsewhere, in the chaste mode of representation in our book, it is the universal practice in the case of male and female names, standing in a connubial relationship, and placed beside one another, at once to point out the Divine right for such communion (see. v. 1; xviii. 2; xxiv. 24). The circumstance of this being omitted in the passage under consideration must, therefore, appear as an indication, that in the case of this communion, the Divine right for it is wanting. But is not a Divine warrant for their communion here stated in their relationship as brother and sister? We cannot doubt that Luke, manifesting, as he does, the most exact knowledge of all the circumstances which here come into consideration (a fact which becomes sufficiently evident from the significant silence of criticism), knows perfectly that Bernice is not the sister of King Agrippa. If he had considered this natural relationship to have been the cause of her accompanying Agrippa, he would, no doubt, have stated the relation, if he had made any mention at all of Bernice

—which, however, is not very likely. The omission of this designation is, hence, nothing else but a gentle and delicate intimation of this unnatural connexion which Josephus expresses in the following words: "Bernice remained for a long time a widow after the death of Herod, who was, at the same time, her husband and uncle; but rumour charged her with living in connubial intercourse with her brother" (Ant. xx. 7, 3). By thus mentioning Bernice in a manner so significant, Luke intends, from the very outset, to intimate that this Herodian continued in the same old Idumean family sins which were peculiar to this tribe and family (see Josephus Antiq. Jud. xviii. 5, 1; Luke iii. 19). Although, then, this king is not mentioned by Luke, under the name of Herod,—a name contaminated by sins and crimes,—but under his Roman name of Agrippa, yet we are to seek the reason of it, not so much in his better character, as in a change which has taken place in the circumstances of the world.

The circumstance of Agrippa's coming to Cæsarea to salute the new Roman Procurator, Felix,—a circumstance expressly pointed out by Luke (ver. 13),—no doubt indicates the relation as a vassal, in which he stands to the Roman Emperor, as the representative of whom, the Procurator must be regarded. But this subordination of Agrippa in relation to Festus has, in our context, no other significance than to make apparent the Roman element in the royal position of Agrippa; for it will immediately appear that, just in that relation which here comes exclusively into view, Agrippa appears and acts as the king, while Festus, as Procurator, does so in a subordinate position (see xxvi. 30). For Festus relates to Agrippa the case of the prisoner Paul. Luke is evidently anxious to communicate to us this report of Festus (vv. 14—21), although, of course, no new feature can be brought forward in it; inasmuch as the events in question have already been communicated in the continuous account. This anxiety can have its foundation only in the circumstance that Luke intends once more to bring to our view the zeal and diligence in the discharge of his duty displayed in the cause of Paul by the Roman governor, in contrast with the raging passion and hostility of the Jewish people and their rulers. The Procurator's account of Paul, and his opposition to the prevailing

religious ordinances of the Jews, induced Agrippa to express his wish to hear Paul himself (ver. 22). No doubt, it was, specially, the mention of the religious differences which had attracted the attention of Agrippa; for, although devoted to the Roman customs, he applied himself to observe the Jewish ordinances also. Thus, *e.g.*, it was only under the condition that Apipus, king of Emesa, should be circumcised, that he gave him his sister Drusilla in marriage (see Joseph. Ant. xx. 7. 1). He farther requested and obtained from Claudius the right of superintending the temple, and naming the High Priest (see l. c. xx. 1. 3); and in virtue of this right, he made improvements in the temple, and erected buildings in connection with it (see l. c. xx. 8. 11; 9. 4, 7).

Festus at once offers to carry out the wish of King Agrippa; arranges on the morrow for a solemn assembly in honour of the king; and orders Paul to be brought forth to it (vv. 22, 23). As regards Agrippa and Bernice, it is mentioned that they appeared with great pomp (*μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας*, see Grotius). By this very feature, Luke at once intimates that Agrippa's desire to hear Paul cannot have been of a very spiritual kind; for this splendour and pomp of his appearance betoken that Agrippa considers this, his impending meeting with this Apostle, chiefly as an occasion on which he might display his royal dignity and splendour. This feature is still more prominently brought out by the very appropriate remark which Wetstein makes on ver. 23: "In the very same city in which his father had died, having been eaten of worms on account of his pride." This circumstance, too, strongly reminds us of Caesarea;—that Festus has invited to the solemn assembly in honor of Agrippa, the Tribunes of the Roman garrison who were stationed here, and other distinguished men of the city who must have been chiefly Roman officials, as, according to Tacitus (see Hist. ii. 79), Caesarea was "caput Judææ." But just for this reason must this assembly, as well as the whole appearance of Agrippa at this place, so much the more remind us of that awful catastrophe which Luke has so minutely described, and in which the character of the world's power, as represented by Herod, and of ungodliness, manifested itself in a manner so terrible, and in a way never to be forgotten. They who here appear in proud pomp, in order to avail themselves of the imprisoned and bound Apostle of Christ, being

brought before them as a fair occasion for indulging, in the grandest way, their vanity, are united by the ties of a most shameful ignominy, are a son and daughter of him who once was slain on account of his pride, by the angel of the Lord, on the same central point of Roman heathendom. But the more that the place and the whole manner of Agrippa's appearing point to his relationship with, and similarity to Herod, the murderer of James, the more are we here reminded, where the issue is so entirely opposite, that we ought, fully and in a lively way, to realize the great crisis which, meanwhile, has taken place in the general circumstances of the world.

By the address to King Agrippa, and to the other persons present, with which Festus opened the proceedings in the solemn place of hearing (*ἀκροατήριον*, ver. 23), he designated Agrippa as the expert umpire who, in this great contrariety existing between the general opinion of the Jews and his (Festus') own conviction with reference to Paul, would be able to discover some intermediate course, by means of which he might be enabled to send Paul to the Emperor, according to the provisions of the law (vv. 24—27). It thus appears that, from the very commencement, Festus made to Agrippa the whole communication concerning the cause of Paul, only with the view of his assisting him to escape from his difficulty, and that he might suggest to him something which he might write to the Emperor. But Agrippa is thereby made, in point of fact, the representative of the Emperor in this cause; and we can so much the better ascertain from his conduct the disposition of the Emperor towards the Gospel. That which here gives him this advantage is his acquaintance with Jewish affairs, and his communion with the Jewish people. We must not, however, at all imagine that the Jewish tendencies of this Herodian are the cause of his being more favourably disposed towards the Apostle Paul; for they were just the bitterest enemies of the Apostle, who pre-eminently maintained their Jewish character, and who took exception to Agrippa, just on account of his want of zeal for Judaism (see Joseph. Antiq. xx. 8, 11). But we can, by no means, consider this Jewish element in the character of Agrippa as a matter of no moment: for the simple reason, that it formed so important an element in that of the father, to whom our whole account so

emphatically points us. We must accordingly here also recognize in this King Agrippa a representative of the Roman world's power, in so far as it no longer appears in its own shape and form, but borrows its mode of appearance from the kingdom of God. Whilst, then, in the Father, this spiritual character of the world's power appears in the fulness of its hostility to the kingdom of Jesus; there appears here, in the Son, the same character connected with a disposition favorable to the Apostle of Christ. From this we learn that the Jewish or spiritual element of the kingdom of the world opens up a view into a peculiar and significant phase of this kingdom; although, in itself, it does not give any decision, but may be applied on either side, for good or evil.

Agrippa at once takes the position of President and deciding Judge, into which Festus had just put him for the present case; and thereby obtains, in this solemn assembly of Roman nobles, that rank which corresponds to his royal name and makes him appear as the Emperor and King present (see xxv. 26). Agrippa opens the proceedings, and permits St Paul to defend himself (see xxvi. 1). As quickly, and with equal confidence, St Paul knows how to find and to occupy his position. We cannot doubt that as soon as he sees King Agrippa taking the lead in the whole proceedings, and in the assembly, the word of the Lord, which laid upon him the duty of bearing witness before Gentiles and Kings (see ix. 15), must have come to his remembrance, and must have been to him an exhortation as earnest as it was comforting and encouraging. St Paul begins his speech by holding his hand stretched forth (*ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα*, ver. 1). We know already that such remarks upon the openings of the speeches are always made by St Luke, with the purpose of drawing the attention of the reader to the importance of such openings (see ii. 14; x. 34; xiii. 16; xvii. 22; xxiii. 1). What the stretching forth of the hand at the commencement of a speech denotes, is clearly seen from the following testimonies of classical antiquity, which Wetstein has collected for the illustration of the passage under review: "porrigit dextram is, et instar oratorum comformat articulum, duobusque infimis conclusis digitis, ceteros eminenter porrigit," Apulejus, Mis. ii.; *ἀνέτεινε τὴν δεξιάν ὡς δημοκηρύσσων*, Polyaenus iv. 317; on the words *τὰς χεῖρας αἴρειν* in Aristophanes, the Scholiast remarks: *ὥσπερ οἱ ῥήτορες οἱ κρίνομενοι*. These passages prove that

we have to conceive of this gesture as being very expressly intended by St Paul; and this all the more because it is nowhere else mentioned in Scripture,—that thereby he at once wishes to intimate that he considers his position to be that of one who is pleading in a formal manner, and in a way which is usual at a public judicial proceeding. We thus see that St Paul, at once and altogether, views his position just as it is, and, at the same time, enters into it with clear and perfect consciousness.

Nor shall we be shaken in this opinion by the circumstance that St Paul now begins to lay so much stress on King Agrippa's knowledge of the customs and questions which are among the Jews (see ver. 23), as if he meant thereby to intimate that he was standing before a Jewish, and not before a heathen assembly; for this conciliatory introduction is not essentially different from that with which he opened his defence before Felix (see xxiv. 10). The allusion to Agrippa's knowledge of Jewish questions need not, therefore, at all interfere with the impression which the address, "King Agrippa," is suited to make, when coming from the mouth of St Paul, who is appointed with his word and testimony to nations and kings, if only we keep in mind that the king who is expert in Judaism represents indeed a remarkable phase of the heathen kingdom.

If, then, we take a superficial view of St Paul's speech in his defence (ver. 2—23), it appears to be a mere repetition of the former discourses (see xxii. 1—21; xxiii. 1—6; xxiv. 10—21), inasmuch as here also the Apostle's agreement with Judaism is advanced as the main point (comp. Baur, der Apostel Paulus, S. 212; Zeller, l. c. S. 569). Now, if the discourse under consideration were, indeed, nothing different, we should here have to complain of a twofold awkwardness; first, that in the present assembly, which is evidently of so peculiar a kind, St Paul does not speak in any way different from that which he did on former occasions which, in part, were of an entirely different character; and secondly, that St Luke, to the exclusion of so many important and interesting matters, should have given a place to this discourse, although it brings forward no new argument. But, upon a closer observation, we shall find that St Paul in his discourse does not for a moment lose sight of his clear consciousness of his present position,—which he, at the very outset, indicates

by the rhetorical gesture of stretching forth his hand, and that, hence, St Luke has acted very wisely in preserving to us the present discourse, as an integral part of the history before us.

It is true, indeed, that, in this his discourse for defence before King Agrippa and the Roman nobles also, St Paul is chiefly concerned to point out the connexion of his doctrine and ministry with Judaism, as one which had never been interrupted or disturbed. Further, it is not to be denied that we saw the same anxiety and effort in St Paul's first defence before the Jewish people, and before the Jewish Sanhedrim; just as it is undeniable that, when standing before suspicious hostile Jews, this point must appear the most effective. But does it follow from this that St Paul is forgetting that he is here standing before a heathen tribunal—that he is speaking in a Roman, heathen assembly—that Agrippa, although he might be circumcised, was yet, by birth, an Edomite, and with heart and hand, by word and deed, a Roman vassal; and that, hence, as a king he was by no means a successor of David, but could be regarded only in the light of a heathen king? If all this be true, the same twofold objection and charge would apply to the discourse of Paul before the Roman Procurator Felix also. But when we compare the discourse of Paul before Felix with the short account of his defence before Festus (see xxv. 8), we are led to a point of view from which we shall obtain a different, and a better idea of the present discourse also. For while St Paul, before Festus, expresses himself in so summary a manner, he, before Felix, enlarges upon the vindication and proof of his doubted Judaism; and he does so obviously for this reason, that Festus has not as yet any knowledge of Judaism, while St Paul praises this knowledge as possessed by Felix, and, at the very outset of the discourse, speaks of it as a circumstance in his own favour (see xxiv. 10). Hence we say,—It is not because Agrippa is a Jew, that St Paul so largely expatiates upon his Judaism,—as Baur says—but just because this heathen representative of heathen kings is still better acquainted with, and expert in, Jewish customs and questions than the Roman Procurator Felix. And if we consider that it is now the third time that we find this subject treated before a Roman tribunal, it will surely appear probable, that this whole subject is not only of consequence to the Jews, but is of importance before a heathen tribunal also. And,

indeed, the relation of this subject to the Roman law and constitution is quite obvious, if we only take the trouble to search for it.

The Proconsul Gallio drove the Jews from his judgment seat, because, as he said, he had not to decide about their internal religious affairs (see xviii. 14, 15); and in so doing he was right; but with this negative position towards religious matters, the entire relation of the Roman constitution to those who were subject to it is not, after all, exhausted. As long as the supposition is valid, that religious differences or commotions keep themselves within the forms of religion, once received or fixed, the laws of the state do not present any cause for interference; and it is this which Gallio means to say. For his sentence is not to be understood as if he considered the religious territory in its relation to the state to be everywhere one that is entirely free,—on which, moreover, there is no *ἀδίκημα* and *ῥᾳδιούργημα*. Such would be the modern theory, but not the opinion of a Roman official. On the contrary, the political constitution of the ancient states in general, and of the Roman Empire in particular, is most intimately connected with religious affairs. Now, as a most general rule in all antiquity, and with the Romans also, the principle on this point was adopted, that every one had to continue with the gods and worship of his fathers and people. According to Aristotle (Rhet. ad Alex. ii. p. 30, Buhle), all those who, at Dodona and Delphi, consulted the gods about religion, received the direction: *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ποιεῖσθαι τὰς θυσίας*; and Cicero lays down the following rules on the subject of worship: Separatim nemo habeat deos, neve novos sive advenas nisi publice adsictos privatim colunto, ritus familiae patrumque servanto, divos et eos qui coelestes semper habiti colunto (see De legibus ii. 8. 19. Comp. Livius iv. 30); and the reason of this stability he states in these words: ritus familiae patrumque servare id est, quoniam antiquitas proxime accedit ad deos a diis quasi traditam religionem tueri (see l. c. ii. w. 27). If St Paul, then, had really been an apostate from the religion and worship of his fathers, and at the same time a zealous promoter of this apostacy,—as the Jews accused him—this, indeed, could not but have appeared as a grave charge in the eyes of the Roman Gentiles; and we now understand why it is that even before Felix, the Roman Procurator, St Paul should have been so exceedingly anxious to set aside the charge

of the Jews, and to show that, even now, he was still serving the God of his fathers (see xxiv. 14). But the question had not merely a moral, but a legal aspect also.

The Roman law had often and strenuously asserted and claimed authority in religious matters, by forbidding certain actions and exercises falling within this province (see Lex. Dei, sine Mosaicarum and Romanarum legum collectio, ed Blume, p. 111—123); so that the succeeding ordinances of the heathen Emperors against the heretics might simply refer to, and revive these precedents. Hence the question could not fail to be raised as to whether the Christian communities, coming as they did under the category of "Collegia," were, according to the Roman law, to be considered as "collegia licita" or "illicita" (see Gieseler's Kirchengeschichte, i. S. 32). The only possibility of bringing the matter to a settled and favorable decision was,—to point out the connexion of the Christian faith with Judaism. The kingdom of the world, no doubt, stands, from the very first, in opposition to Judaism; but, by the power of the good Spirit within the kingdom of the world, it has been brought about that Judaism obtained a legal standing in the territory of the kingdom of the world, to which has been given the power over all outward affairs. This is the effect of the wonderful conversion of Nebuchadnezzar (see Dan. iii. 29, 31—33; iv. 34), the head of the body of the kingdom of the world. The same end was gained under the first king of the succeeding dynasty, Darius Medus (see Dan. vi. 25—27). But even more than this is reported to us concerning Cyrus; he not only protects the Israelites in his kingdom, but he thinks himself called by the God who has given him dominion over the nations and countries, and whom he acknowledges as the God of heaven, to restore captive Israel to their country, and to build, by these returning ones, a temple to the God of heaven (see 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23; Ezra i. 1—4). But does not this promotion of Israel's salvation, on the part of the heathen kingdoms of the world, imply more than, ordinarily, might, and ought to be done? For it is not long after this favorable change on the part of the Persian dynasty has taken place, that obstacles begin to appear; and the farther progress of events brings before us the decided hostility of the world's power, under Ahazuerus, against Israel (see Esther i. 2), and the attacks and injuries inflicted upon Israel by the Samaritans, which, under

the sanction of the Persian kings, continued till the second year of Darius (see Ezra iv. 24). It is for this reason that, even as early as the third year of Cyrus, Daniel is quite downcast; and during this time a sad future for Israel, under the kings of Persia, is revealed to him by the Lord (see Dan. x. 1—xi. 45). For the sad and grievous time of Israel, this consolation only was afforded to Daniel:—that there existed a chief kingdom within heathendom to assist and fight for Israel against the hostile powers both of Persia and Greece (see Dan. x. 13, 20, 21; xii. 1); and this has been confirmed. The opposing power of the Persian kingdom was at length overcome by the good and favorable power; so that, in the second year of Darius, Israel, by means of royal edicts and measures, obtained liberty to live, and to worship God according to their laws and ordinances. The same, also, as we are told by Josephus in a very remarkable passage (Antiq. xi. 8, 4, 5), was guaranteed to the people by the first king of Greece, Alexander.

The same protection is afforded to the Jewish peculiarities by the Romans also—the rulers in the modern kingdom of the world. Josephus is particularly anxious to furnish the pertinent evidences. Thus, he communicates (Antiq. xiv. 8, 5) a senatus consultum of the time of Cæsar, in which the Jews are designated as friends and allies. Of the same period, he has adduced a series of seven public documents of the Roman Emperors, in favor of the Jews (Antiq. xiv. 10, 2—20). Against the hostile intentions of the Emperor Caius, Philo also appeals to the favor and protection which even Cæsar, Augustus, and Tiberius, still granted the Jews (see De legatione ad Caj. p. 1033—1036). Accordingly, we read in the Codex Theodosianus, xvi. 8, 9 (see Judaica colleg. G. C. Meier, p. 67): "It is sufficiently known that the sect of the Jews is prohibited by no law whatever. We are, therefore, much grieved that in some places some of their meetings have been interdicted." The Jewish communities and meetings were, therefore, in accordance with the Roman law and constitution, invested with the rights of the Collegia licita (see Gieseler, Kirchengesch. i. 31). This right of Judaism to exist within the Roman Empire, could not fail to be of an importance so much the greater, the more that the opposition and hatred which separated Jews and Romans at that time were

serious (see the Collection of Documents on this subject in K. v. Raumer, Palaestina, S. 357, 358, 3rd ed.). But the more that this right must appear important in the eyes of the Jews, the more it was necessary to trace it to a special providence and direction of God, who, although He had given His people into the hands of the Gentiles, had yet, ever since the days of Nebuchadnezzar, by His hidden wisdom and mercy, rendered it possible that the existence of His people in the midst of their enemies should be maintained and preserved; in order that, at some future time, they might be able to serve as a purified organism for the kingdom of the Spirit.

Now, in order to see how important to the Apostle Paul must have been this so wonderfully arranged, and divinely preserved position of Judaism within the hostile Roman Empire, we must consider that, according to the biblical and apostolical view, which we find with the Apostle Paul also, the times of the world are, in the proper sense, completed with the appearance of Jesus in the world, and His death. Nothing, therefore, can any more arise after the manner of the primitive world's history; and, hence, the faith of Jesus, if it is yet to have a temporary course on earth, must accommodate itself to the existing position and state of the circumstances of the world. Now since St Paul has, chiefly, a vocation to propagate the faith of Jesus in the centre of the Roman Empire, he must also be anxious to gain the outward security and title for the planting and spreading of this faith within this empire. Should he now, perhaps, hope to be able, from the very foundation, and from within, to transform the entire character of the Roman Empire, by means of the Gospel? Although such a view has become so familiar in theology, yet it must be considered unbiblical, and altogether strange to St Paul. It is true that, according to Scripture, there exists a complete reverse of the kingdom of the world represented by the Romans; and this is the kingdom of Israel. But the Apostles have been told, from the very outset, that the establishment and restoration of it cannot take place as long as the Lord and King of it is enthroned in the concealment of heaven. During this period, the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Israel exist in spiritual concealment, and within. But since, nevertheless, it is on earth, and, accordingly, must also con-

stantly manifest itself from within to without, it requires outward right and protection. But these depend altogether upon that power to which, meanwhile, all earthly relations are given over, until the time of the establishment and restoration of the kingdom of Israel shall come, viz., upon the Roman constitution. St Paul, therefore, could not fail to recognize it as his vocation, to point out, within the law and ordinances of the world, directed and revealed by God, that place where the safe and prosperous development of the Church of Christ might take place. And not only when he looked upon the Divine indications as to the past in the relation betwixt Judaism and the kingdom of the world, but also when he looked at the present state of this relation, he could not fail to be convinced, that the place in question could be none other than that existence of Judaism guaranteed within the Roman Empire.

The Apostle Paul was all the more under the necessity of pointing this out, that it was just he who had founded the life of faith in its Gentile-Christian form, *i.e.*, that form which places the outward connexion with Judaism within the sphere of the Spirit; and this necessity became so much the greater, the more that, to the outward appearance, the Church of the Gentiles assumed a position which brought it to a great distance from that of the Synagogue of the Jews. To this it may be added that, even before the Roman powers saw any reason for attending to the legal standing of the Christian congregations, the Jews raised suspicions and charges against St Paul, and hence also against the congregations founded by him, as standing in opposition to Judaism. When viewed in this light, it appears that it is not an affair personal to the Apostle which is here in question, but the whole future standing of the Gentile Church within the legal and political order. We shall, therefore, find it to be quite natural that St Paul should be most anxious to prove, before the Roman authorities, the groundlessness of those charges of the Jews, whensoever he might suppose,—as he certainly could do in the case of Felix, and, still more, in that of Agrippa,—that he could make himself intelligible to them. It is thus of universal and abiding importance, that St Paul should have demonstrated the connexion of his faith with Judaism; and seeing this universal and abiding importance, we shall find it to be quite intelligible

that Scripture should have communicated so minutely the two discourses in question delivered by the Apostle in his defence, inasmuch as Scripture, on its Divine foresight (see Gal. iii. 8), always views and represents the present according to its significance and importance for the future. And so much the rather have we every reason to be thankful for this communication, as, with respect to the connexion here pointed out, most of us are as much in the dark as were the opponents of St Paul, or his hearers at this place.

They are chiefly three points to which the Apostle here directs the attention of the assembly, and in which, therefore, we have to follow him. In the first and third place, he endeavours, by internal arguments, to remove the apparent contrariety existing between his whole conduct and ministry, on the one hand, and Judaism, on the other. In the second place, St Paul refers to the great and marvellous fact of his conversion and calling, on which he here, in the presence of the great assembly, lays particular stress,—especially as regards its universal importance for Jews and Gentiles.

St Paul here, too, as in the discourse before the Jewish people (xxii. 3—5), begins with the mention of his former well-known Pharisaism (ver. 4, 5). But this arises solely from the circumstance that this fact affords him a sure ground for his present purpose also. For, as we have already mentioned, his object here also is to prove that he still retains the same affection for Judaism as he formerly did. But the more that at present this is concealed by an evidently strong contrariety between the two parties, the more important must it be to mention his former Judaism as one of the strictest observance. If, then, St Paul from that past (ἔζησα, ver. 5) quickly comes to the present (νῦν, ver. 6), he can, on the ground of that past, venture at once to speak of the evident contrast between him and the Jews (ἕστηκα κρινόμενος, ἐγκαλοῦμαι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων), and the internal, deeply hidden communion (ἐπ' ἐλπίδι . . . . εἰς ἣν τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἐλπίζει καταντῆσαι). He thus not only places beside each other the two things which, even at present, appear to most theologians to be irreconcileable; but, being supported outwardly by that undeniable fact, and, inwardly, resting on the immoveable foundation of his confidence, he, by one stroke, and by a bold turn, unites

in one sentence, the two ends of the antithesis which, apparently, caused an absolute separation. So surprising and bold a turn becomes possible to the Apostle only by his viewing and representing the two parts of the antithesis, not according to their appearance, but according to their essential nature. This is most clearly seen from the side of Judaism. Even the mention of δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν necessarily leads to it. For, ever since the prophet Ahijah had rent the garment of Jeroboam (see 1 Kings xi. 29—39), the counsel of God had become manifest of rending, by a deep chasm, the unity of Israel, on account of the apostacy of David's son; and when, at that time, the separation of the twelve tribes had been completed, and had developed itself on the part of Ephraim, not only in an apostacy from the house of David, but, also, from the house of Jehovah (see 1 Kings xii. 25—33), this chasm had become much wider than had, at first, been intended. But the people of Israel occupy, in the history of mankind, that place where, on the one hand, indeed, sin is recognized and felt in all its unfathomable depth; but where, on the other, the hope is never given up that all sin, as it arose and exercises its influence in the course of history, shall also be overcome and completely removed in the course of history; so that it is Israel, especially, which, although more deeply sunk in the depths of sin than all the Gentiles (see Jerem. ii. 10—13) shall yet be redeemed from all his sins and iniquities (see Ps. cxxx. 8). On this very ground, it must be settled in Israel, that the chasm of separation would not last for ever. Thus we find that the Prophet Elijah holds fast immoveably the integrity of the original number of twelve (see 1 Kings xviii. 31, 32; comp. xix. 19), even at the time when the apostacy of Ephraim had reached its consummation, and although none could, like him, realize the full import of the separation, now completed, between the two kingdoms. In a similar manner, the kings, Hezekiah and Josiah, exerted themselves on behalf of the few who had remained in the land after the ten tribes had been carried away captive by the Assyrians (see 2 Chron. xxx. 1, 10, 18; xxxv. 18). To this we must likewise refer the fact that they who returned from the Babylonish captivity manifested, on solemn occasions, a consciousness of the inviolable oneness of the twelve tribes (see Ezra vi. 17, viii. 24, 35). Now one might well imagine that they

who had returned from the captivity considered themselves as the representatives of the true Israel, and, hence, regarded the ten tribes, who had no share in their return, as being comprehended in their own number; in which case they, by significantly marking the number twelve, might just have been wishing to express nothing else than that they themselves formed the whole and complete continuation of ancient Israel, in such a manner that, henceforth, the ten tribes, carried away and lost, could not any more be spoken of. Such a spiritualism would, after all, not be so bad as that which we find spread abroad within the sphere of the Gentile Church; namely that the Gentile Church conceives herself to be the continuation of the people of Israel, in such a sense, that the latter could now come into consideration, in reference to the history of salvation, either not at all, or only casually. Although it be true that such a view might commend itself, in virtue of a certain authority imparted to it by the Church, we must object to it, that it receives as little countenance in the Old, as in the New Testament. For if the ten tribes, after having been carried away into the countries of the Gentiles, on account of their apostacy from Jehovah, and from the house of David, had been lost in such a way, that their Future had irrevocably lost itself in the history of the Gentile nations and countries, then, on this territory, sin would have gained the victory, and the power of the adversary would have maintained itself against Jehovah's mercy; the momentous fact of the final victory of the ungodly powers, would thus have been recorded in universal history. But it is just for this reason that the whole assumption is annihilated when considered on scriptural grounds. That the two tribes have been brought back from the captivity,—that, hence, their outward continuity is preserved and secured for the future of salvation, are circumstances directly opposed to such an assumption. For should the greater measure of sin be the reason why the ten tribes did not obtain the same mercy as that which was bestowed upon Judah? But, altogether apart from the consideration that, on Old Testament ground, sin does not form an obstacle to the final development of the people and kingdom of God, the relation between Israel and Judah is, in this respect, strictly speaking, rather the reverse (see Jer. iii. 6—11). Moreover, the promises held up to view by the law, regarding the final destiny of Israel after the

deep confusion of his apostacy, are not only quite general and comprehensive of the whole body of the people; but those prophets also who, themselves, saw and lamented the separation of the people, give forth the most distinct promises for Judah and for Israel, as to the final issue, and foresee a union of the two separated parts which will entirely restore the original unity (see Is. xi. 12, 13; Jerem. iii. 12—25; Hos. ii. 2; Ezek. xxxvii. 16—22; xlvii. 13.)

Can such a prospect of the Future of the ten tribes, having, as it does, its foundation in the entire history of salvation, and resting at the same time on the sure word of prophecy, be destroyed by the circumstance that these tribes had no share in the return from the captivity which was brought about by Cyrus and his successors? If this return were the sole and final one, then, indeed, we should have before us an enigma which could not be solved; but this is so far from being the final return which the prophets, in so many pregnant words, have promised, that the most zealous Israelites—such as Ezra and Nehemiah—even hesitate whether they should join this expedition to their native land; and many godly Jews—such as Mordecai and Esther—remain within the Persian Empire, and, in a confirmation of their resolution, enjoy in Shushan the Divine protection no less than their brethren in the newly built Jerusalem. Hence, the condition of Israel as a whole is not substantially changed by the edict of Cyrus; and they who returned certainly intended to manifest this by their continuing, even in Palestine, to call themselves Sons of the Captivity (see Ezra iv. 1; x. 11, 16; viii. 35; Neh. i. 3). The same consciousness prevails among the people of the Jews even in after-times; they view their present condition as the continuation of the captivity, which began with the destruction of their kingdom, and the loss of their independence (see Eisenmenger's entdecktes Judenthum ii. 573); and it is obvious that, in such a case, the Jewish self-consciousness is very decisive. For this reason, we need not wonder that the Jews never expressed themselves, regarding the existence of the ten tribes, in a tone so resigned as that which theologians are wont to use. Josephus expressly declares that two tribes only are under Roman dominion in Europe and Asia; but that the ten tribes are, up to this day, on the other side of

the Euphrates (see Antiq. xi. 5, 2). And, since Jerome writes, on Hos. i. 1: "Ten tribes have been carried away captive by Shalmaneser, and settled in the mountains of the Medes;" and on Hosea i. 6: "The Israelites, up to this day, serve the King of Persia, and they were never delivered from their captivity," we must suppose that he owed this information, as well as all his knowledge of Jewish affairs, to his connection with his Jewish teachers. The more recent inventions as to the glorious condition of the ten tribes in the far East (see Eisenmenger ii. 515—572) are likewise a proof, that the tradition of the Synagogue neither knows anything of the breaking of the captivity, and of the return of the Ephraimitic tribes, nor of their having disappeared in heathendom. And, although modern Jewish scholars easily satisfy themselves, after the manner of many Christian theologians (see Jost, Geschichte der Israeliten, ii. 249, 250), as to the disappearance of these tribes, this is only a sign that, on this point also, as on many others, they follow the spirit of the time, more than that of their own nation.

If, then, an unprejudiced Exegesis (see Hofmann, Weissag. u. Erfüllg. i. 209, 210) must acknowledge that the word of the Old Testament guarantees to the ten tribes a future redemption and salvation; and if the Synagogue knows nothing about its having already come,—for which reason it must be regarded as having not yet taken place—then, of course, the imperfect state of our knowledge cannot shake so sure a foundation. Although, therefore, the hypothesis of Asahel Grant regarding the ten tribes, brought forward with a great appearance of probability, should not share a fate in any respect better than that of its many predecessors; although even he, who, of all living men, has the most comprehensive knowledge of the inhabited earth, Carl Ritter, declares that he doubts the existence of the ten tribes (see Erdkunde x. S. 246 ff. 2d ed.); yet, in the great zeal which now prevails in enquiries regarding the East, every day may bring to us some information by which the Old Testament darkness, like so many other things, may receive light. But it is when standing on the ground of the sure word of prophecy, as regards the future destiny of the ten tribes, that we first recognize the significance, in the New Testament, of the Israelitish number, Twelve. It is, at all events, quite obvious that the number

Twelve in the number of the Apostles refers to the twelve tribes of Israel. But this in itself might also be viewed in such a way as to imply a reference to a new Israel, which, after old Israel was broken up, and had, for the most part, disappeared without leaving any trace behind, were to be formed by the begetting word of the Apostles, out of the whole human race, whether of Jewish or Gentile descent. But since it is, more than once, expressly declared by the Lord himself (see Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30), that the twelve Apostles have a reference to the twelve tribes of Israel, that possibility is completely set aside, even if it were not already excluded by the whole course of the history of salvation. We are, therefore, compelled to assume the reference of the twelve Apostles to the old and original tribes of Israel. Farther—The supposition of the existence and future of the other ten tribes lies at the foundation of the institution of the Apostolic office, and of every mention of the twelve Apostles; and the number Twelve, in the New Testament, is connected with the pointing out and distinguishing of the twelve tribes at the time of the return. The children of the captivity were conscious that they represented only a small part of Israel; they knew that the greater number of the people were still in the bondage of captivity. But they held immoveably fast the hope of a future deliverance for them also, and, hence, of a complete and final deliverance of all the twelve tribes. And although they saw nothing of it, and knew of no means for its fulfilment, yet in this hope they proceeded, at the solemn dedication of the new house of God, as if all the tribes had been present. The commencement of the New Testament time likewise knows as little of the deliverance of the ten tribes as the time of the return; and, in reality, this future is still more hidden than it was formerly, because even the condition of those who had returned, now that the Roman dominion of the world has appeared, shows itself, more and more plainly, as a condition of servitude and captivity. But, nevertheless, not only is the salvation of all Israel expected, but even a commencement is made, which, by its Divine unconquerable power, is to accomplish the salvation of the twelve tribes, and will assuredly do so. This commencement is the Patriarchal Apostleship who, with the same necessity as once the twelve sons of Jacob begat the twelve tribes according to the flesh, will trans-

late the twelve tribes of Israel from the servitude and sin of the flesh, into the new life of the Divine kingdom, by means of the hidden and sacred power of the Word and Spirit. The twelve Apostles of Christ are, accordingly, the present securities for the existence of the twelve tribes, as well as for their future restitution. By the circumstance, therefore, that at the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles, we immediately meet with the necessity of filling up a vacancy which had arisen, in the number of the twelve Apostles, we are furnished with a new proof—and that within our reach—of the Apostles' holding fast the Israelitish number of twelve. From this point of view, a peculiar light is thrown upon the circumstance that, in the first proclamation of the Gospel by Peter (ii. 39), they who are afar off are mentioned,—a mention so full of significance and hope. The fact that James who, as we have seen, of all in the Apostolic Church, stands nearest to the people of Israel, addresses his Epistle to the whole of the twelve tribes, may, no doubt, likewise be accounted for from the maintenance, by the New Testament, of the integrity of the tribes of Israel as guaranteed by the Old Testament; for, although we may well suppose that he did not know in what way he could transmit his Epistle to the distant and lost tribes, yet this very circumstance renders so much the more apparent the strength of his hope as embracing the whole people. And, finally, we shall find it to be quite in harmony with this New Testament position towards the twelve tribes of Israel in the Old Testament, that the Apocalypse, at the end of the days, draws the tribes of Israel out of their deep concealment, and brings them again before us by name (Rev. vii. 4—8); for, in so doing, it shows us the end of the time, or the close of the New Testament commencement, at which the Apostolic office was established as the deeply hidden spiritual foundation for the renovation and restitution of Israel. Whilst, during the whole period of the New Testament commencement, this Apostolic spiritual foundation of twelve-tribed Israel steps more and more into the back-ground, it is quite in keeping with a view to the time of the end, to hold up the names of the twelve Apostles in their connection with the names of the twelve tribes (see Rev. xvi. 14).

It is only now that it will be evident to us how deeply the

Apostle Paul expresses the very nature of Israel, by using the designation, *τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν*. For this expression is now a guarantee to us, that not only are the Old Testament declarations as regards Israel's future, in general, viewed by the Apostle as being sure, and placed beyond any doubt, but that, even in the present, he regards, in a lively manner, the people in their full integrity; so that, in his love and hope, he embraces no less than does James, the ten tribes, removed though they be from the external connection.

That which St Paul declares regarding the extent of Israel does not, however, lie on the surface; nor is that which he here states, respecting the conduct and doings of all Israel, to be learnt by a merely superficial glance. St Paul, in speaking of the service which is performed by the whole people, day and night, in zeal (*ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ*, ver. 7), cannot mean any thing else than the religious exercises and works which are carried on, day and night, by the zealous Jews (comp. Josh. i. 8; Ps. i. 2; cxix. 62; Luke ii. 37), and in which the congregations are sometimes engaged, even at night (see Reland, Antiq. p. 498; Buxtorff, Synag. Jud. p. 270, 336). The zeal of the Jewish people in these religious exercises is, indeed, so great, that, hitherto, no violence nor seduction of the world has been able to destroy it. And it is this knowledge which the Apostle possesses of their indestructible zeal which makes him suppose, with certainty, that the same energy in the holy service would exist with those tribes also which were removed beyond his immediate cognizance. But Paul mentions this service only as a means with a view to the object which they wish to attain. Since, however, this service occupies not a few moments only in the life of this twelve tribed nation, but comprehends every thing in which the highest and most general power of this nation manifests itself, the object, also, for the attainment of which those means are employed can be nothing less than the highest aim of all which this people have in view. Now, since we have a perfect security as to this highest object and aim of the Jewish people, it is indeed, even without its being any farther expressly declared, already certain that St Paul here points to that completion of the entire development, which is commonly designated by the expression, "Messianic time," for which the history of Israel was, from the very beginning, intended,

and which was held fast by the whole people in immoveable hope. This aim of Israel is here, indeed, designated by Paul, by an expression which is not a very current one for it; but the connexion is, after all, so very clear that most interpreters have, nevertheless, rightly recognized this aim. For St Paul declares this aim to be, the resurrection of the dead. Grotius, it is true, understands, thereby, the resurrection of individuals; but the greater number of interpreters direct attention to the fact, that this doctrine is, in the teaching of the synagogue, connected with the restoration of the whole people. That such, indeed, is the case, one may be readily convinced by the declarations of Jewish teachers, collected by Bertholdt (see Christologia Judaeorum, p. 176—180), and Eisenmenger (see Entdecktes Judenthum ii. 890—950); and even up to this day, the prayer used by Jewish congregations, for the day of atonement—which prayer has, throughout and rightly, a national character, and has in view as its essence, the final completion of the people,—very significantly opens with this very confession of the hope of the promise of the resurrection of the dead (see Ohel Jacob, by M. Fränkel, S. 154). And the national element in this doctrine will, no doubt, be also the chief reason why this doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is esteemed by the synagogue to be so high and holy (see Buxtorfii Synagog. Jud. p. 14, 31, 32).

But St Paul is not contented with pointing out the mere fact of the existence of the hope among the twelve tribes; but he states also the ground of this hope in the words: *τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐπαγγελίας γενομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ* (ver. 6); and it is thereby that the true relation of the resurrection of the dead to the national development of Israel has been brought into the true light. For the designation of the promise is so general and comprehensive, that we cannot conceive of this Divine promise to the fathers as one among many, but as comprehending and implying all others. As such, we recognized, at the very beginning of our book the promise of the Holy Spirit. But since the context does not permit us to think of this promise, it must be some other promise, of the same extent and importance. From this, however, it clearly follows that we cannot here think of the resurrection of individuals from the dead; for, since the Old Testament promises are, throughout, addressed to

the whole of the people, this must, of course, be, pre-eminently, the case with one which comprehends all others. And if some individual resurrection were the point in question, we should also be at a loss to determine which it was; while, on the other hand, if we understand resurrection in that comprehensive sense to which the context here leads us, we shall at once find this prophecy to occupy, in the Old Testament Scriptures, that significance and importance which is claimed for it by the fact that St Paul so distinctly marks it out.

It is the prophet Isaiah who opens up to us the right understanding of this point. It is this prophet who, personally and historically, occupied a prominent place in the last great decision about Israel's Future. For, the house and kingdom of David were the last and only means of salvation for the torn-asunder people. But when it came to be decided, whether Ahaz, the son and successor of David, the present representative of the Davidic-kingdom and house, was to cleave to Jehovah or to Asshur, it came out that Ahaz placed greater reliance upon Asshur than upon Jehovah; and the whole people of Jerusalem were of the same mind as he (see Is. vii. 1—12). This decisive apostacy of the house of David and of the people of Judah, Isaiah had personally to experience in one of the most eventful moments of his life. It is this fact which gives that incomparable character of decidedness to his prophetic word in both of its aspects; namely, the cutting severity against the sin of Israel,—for the measure of transgression is full—and the originality of the announcement of the Divine salvation;—for, where sin abounds, the grace of God much more abounds in the history of salvation. Since, then, Isaiah announces to the Jews that their iniquities shall not be purged from them till they die (Is. xxii. 14), the threatening is altogether in harmony with that experience, and must, therefore, be understood quite literally. The people, as a whole, have rejected this last stretching forth of the merciful hand of God, and nothing, therefore, remains but to suffer the punishment which, from the outset, was laid on transgression; viz., death, and thus, by death, to satisfy the justice of God. The second member of the alternative of life or death, the choice between which, Moses once placed before the people (see Deut. xxx. 15), has thus come upon them by the decision of the people them-

selves. But, now, in what does the death consist, which Moses placed in view of the people, and of which Isaiah declares that it shall inevitably take place? It cannot be meant by this expression that all the individuals who constitute the nation should die; —for this reason even, that the final Future of the people would, thereby, be denied, which Moses, as well as Isaiah, unhesitatingly hold fast. Nor has Moses left us in doubt as to what he understands by the death of the people. As the highest punishment to be inflicted on the people for their sins, he always describes the exile of Israel from their country, and their captivity in distant foreign lands (see Levit. xxvi. 37—41; Deut. iv. 26—28, xxviii. 25, 32, 33, 36—68). And is not this, in reality, the death of a people? For death is, in one respect, the loosening of the tie which unites the two parts of human nature into one organism; and, in another respect, it is the return, to his first beginning, of man who was intended for progress. Now just as the human organism consists of body and soul united together, and penetrating one another in a lively manner; so, according to the view of Scripture, which manifests itself in the history and law of Israel, the people and land of Israel are, by the word and work of Jehovah, connected into one living whole. The exile of Israel, which is the loosening of this tie, can, accordingly, be nothing else but the death of Israel. But, on the other hand, Israel, as the living head, is called to comprehend within itself all the Gentiles, and to transform them into an organic unity of national and historical development. But if, instead of this, Israel is, on account of his disobedience, dissolved into the nations and put under the dominion of the powers and gods of the world, from whom he was delivered at the commencement of his history; is that not the same return and retrogression under which man must fall by the fate of death—man, who was called to fill and to subdue the earth, but who is now, on account of his sin, dissolved into the same dust whence he was taken? It is exactly thus that Isaiah conceives of the state of Israel which is to be the result of their disobedience, and which, in xxii. 14, he has designated as death. For, according to the description of Isaiah, this condition is the captivity of the people who are carried away from their own country, and subjected to a foreign power. Isaiah is especially fond of describing this captivity and subjection of

Israel as the repetition of their former condition, when they were strangers and slaves in Egypt (see Is. x. 26; xi. 11—16, lii. 12; comp. Exod. xiii. 21, 22, xiv. 19, 20). But the servitude of Israel in Egypt was that time in which the nation, as such, had not as yet any existence at all, except in its elements, and as possessing only the possibility of existence. It is in virtue of the deliverance by the uplifted hand and stretched out arm of Jehovah, that Israel is brought into existence as the first-born son of Jehovah (see Exod. iv. 22). According to this comparison, the condition which Israel exhibits is thus the dissolution of the people into their original elements, their being brought back to the time before their birth, hence—death. The same idea of non-existence—of death and burial—to which the people of Israel are to be given over, lies at the foundation of that representation of Isaiah, according to which Zion appears as a barren, childless widow (see Is. xlvii. 9; xlix. 20, 21; liv. 1). For, inasmuch as Zion signifies the Divine, imperishable foundation of the people and kingdom of Israel, this Divine mother of Israel can be conceived of as childless and barren, under this condition only, that the Jews, in a state where they are without a house or kingdom, are considered as non-existing—hence, as dead.

But if thus the prophetic words of Moses and Isaiah represent the punishment of Israel under the figure of death, in what manner must be represented the redemption and deliverance from such distress, which is, after all, held to be the ultimate and comprehensive promise? Must not this latter prospect necessarily be called the "resurrection from the dead?" Thus Moses also already expresses it in the closing word regarding Israel's ultimate destiny. "See now that I, even I, am He, and there is no God with me; I kill and I make alive; I wound and I heal; neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand" (Deut. xxxii. 39). That which, in this passage, is undeniably contained in the context—viz., the reference of the expressions, death and life, to the people of Israel—is quite expressly and openly stated by Isaiah and Ezekiel (Is. xxvi. 19; Ezek. xxxvii.). In this way, it has, at the same time, become quite clear to us, how St Paul could speak of this promise of resurrection in a manner so emphatic and exclusive; for we see that, as to its import and significance, it has altogether the same dignity which we could not but

ascribe to the promise of the Holy Spirit. For what, as to its cause, the promise of the Holy Spirit is for the Future of Israel, the same is the resurrection of the dead, as to its effects; and in the great vision of Ezekiel, the power of the Spirit, called into exercise by the prophet's person and word, is indeed represented as the Divine cause of the revival of the dead of Israel in that valley.

No one who remembers the Apostle's doctrine on the Future of Israel, in his Epistle to the Romans, will, for a moment, doubt that St Paul has the same hope which he is fully justified in supposing to be the aim of all Israel's service of God, wherever the tribes of this people may sojourn; but his assertion, that he was accused for the sake of this very same hope (ver. 7), may, at first sight, appear to be singular. So much, indeed, follows as a matter of course from ver. 8, that, in saying this, the Apostle is thinking of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead. But then again, the two-fold question arises:—How far is faith in Jesus, the risen One, on the one hand, equivalent to what the Apostle was accused for by the Jews, and, on the other hand, to Israel's hope of the resurrection of Israel's dead, and the restoration of the whole people? The first question is answered in the subsequent argumentation, in which St Paul proves that his whole conduct and procedure among the Gentiles and Jews—which was just the object of the hatred and accusation on the part of the Jews—was dependent upon, and determined by Jesus, who had appeared to him from heaven; for, from this it appears that the belief in the resurrection of Jesus whom the Jews know only, and name as the crucified One, forms the chief ground of his manner and procedure which were offensive to the Jews. But now, as regards the other aspect, St Paul, even here, does not move by one step beyond the sphere of thought belonging to Judaism, and, hence, known to Agrippa. It is true that, if in that hope of the resurrection of the dead, one views the Divine aspect only, one might be disposed to think that all human conditions and agency were excluded in this act. But how explicit soever the Old Testament is in ascribing to God the cause of all the salvation of Israel, the whole Old Testament history and doctrine demand, as distinctly and explicitly, that we should conceive of salvation as depending upon human instrumentality; or, to express it in other

words :—Although the salvation of Israel is, in all its steps, even the last, viewed and represented by the Old Testament as altogether supernatural, yet the historical connexion of the development is, at the same time, most inviolably maintained. The supernaturalism of the Old Testament is, hence, so little a negation of the historical view of the development of salvation—as it is commonly imagined to be—that, on the contrary, the latter, which is maintained by the side of the former, must, for the sake of the former, be conceived of as existing in a higher degree. It is for this reason, therefore, that, in the last decisive act of the development of salvation, we are not allowed to regard the Divine activity merely. Indeed, just at that passage which most fully and plainly represents this act of God's working out salvation, the Old Testament itself leads us, undeniably, to the other aspect—the human and historical. For, if the great valley of dead bodies which is revealed to Ezekiel in a vision, be the whole house of Israel (Ezek. xxxvii. 11), then death and corruption only are represented as existing within Israel. But, notwithstanding this, Ezekiel, the son of man, who is, after all, descended from Israel, and belongs to the whole house of Israel, must step between them with his prophetic word, in order that the miracle of bringing Divine life out of death may be effected (see Ezek. xxxvii. 4, 7—16). This need of human and historical development for the completion of Israel's salvation has constantly impressed itself even upon the conviction of the Synagogue degenerating more and more, notwithstanding its unhistorical sense and boundless superstition, and shows itself with sufficient plainness in the following, among many other sentences :—"That the Messiah delayed His coming so long on account of the impenitence of the Jews (see Eisenmenger, ii. 670, 671); that the Messiah would come, if only the Jews would once keep the Sabbath as they ought" (l. c. S. 673). Hence St Paul was not presuming too much upon the Jewish conviction, in declaring that they must not entertain the hope of the general resurrection of the dead, and of the restoration of Israel, any sooner, and in any other way, than by keeping in view, at the same time, that this Divine miracle required, in order to its performance, the agency and instrumentality of the word of prophecy spoken by the prophetic son of man. Since, then, this prophetic mediator has appeared

in Jesus—as has been publicly manifested by His own resurrection, by which the entire, hitherto unbroken, power of death was, for the first time, completely overcome—Paul is fully entitled to assert, in opposition to the Jewish conviction, that the faith in the resurrection of Jesus is the only living and present root of the resurrection of Israel which God has promised to the fathers; that hence the resurrection of Jesus, and the resurrection of Israel, stand in such a necessary internal connection, that he who means to hope for the latter must believe in the former also. St Paul, therefore, does not assert too much when he complains that he is accused by the Jews just for the very same cause as that upon which they have directed their whole life, and all their efforts; so that the internal contradiction must not, according to the mere appearance, be sought on the part of Paul, but on the side of the Jews.

But the more that St Paul denies the charge of having apostatised from Judaism, and charges his enemies with it, the more it becomes necessary for him to explain himself regarding the contradiction existing in his outward life, and to show how, from being a persecutor of the Christian faith, he became an Apostle of that faith, without becoming unfaithful to the God, and to the law of his fathers, whom he has served from his early youth. And St Paul enters with so much the greater pleasure upon the account of his conversion and calling, that he has here an opportunity of declaring this fact, so important to the whole heathen world, in the presence of a heathen assembly which might well be regarded as a representation of the heathen world; and that, in bearing witness to this fact, he has the prospect of arriving at an understanding. That which he could not venture to express on the Areopagus of Athens, because he did not find there any point of connexion for it, it has become possible for him to utter here at Cesarea, from the circumstance, that the present head of the whole heathen assembly was king Agrippa who was received and initiated into Judaism. And St Luke has not thought it useless or superfluous once more to communicate, out of the mouth of the Apostle himself, the account of St Paul's conversion and calling; in order to intimate, by this new repetition, that for the whole development of the Church, with a view to which St Luke has written his history from beginning to end, the truth and certainty

of this fact was of the greatest consequence; and that, for this reason, it well deserved to be placed on the legal security of a two-fold or three-fold witness. This three-fold testimony results as follows:—*First*, St Luke reports the principal facts coming into consideration at the conversion and calling of Saul of Tarsus in the historical connexion, at that place when the necessity of a new Apostleship for the Gentiles has manifested itself. This is the testimony which St Luke has destined for Theophilus, and, after him, for the Church, as is evident from ix. 15, and, especially, in the intimation which this verse contains regarding the course which this proclamation of the Gospel is to take. The *second* testimony is that which St Paul himself bears in presence of the Jewish people, and in which, as we saw, he enters, especially, upon that aspect of the whole transaction which was pre-eminently important for the conviction of the Jews. With the *third* testimony, now under consideration, St Paul stands before Gentiles, and, hence, pays attention, chiefly to the notions of Gentiles; in such a manner, however, as to avoid every appearance of an apostacy from his Jewish convictions. And inasmuch as we recognized in the present assembly a representation of the Gentile world, we shall find it quite appropriate, that the import and significance which St Paul's Apostolic office for the Gentiles has for the whole world, should be placed in a clearer light here than it has been any where else.

After having reported the external events which took place when Jesus appeared to him on the way to Damascus (ver. 12—15), St Paul mentions the words of the Lord by which his Apostolic office was bestowed upon him (ver. 16—18). It is in the nature of the case, and is also confirmed by the account in ix. 6, that the command to arise, with which these words open, was really addressed to him at the first moment of the appearance, and just at that place where he had fallen down with his companions. But it cannot be determined with certainty, nor is it, indeed, in any respect of importance, whether the following words regarding the Apostolic office,—about which we are here chiefly concerned,—were spoken by the Lord immediately after, or were brought to St Paul, only at a later period, through Ananias. For it is by no means impossible that, at His first appearance, Jesus should at once have given him a survey of his

later ministry; but that Luke did not think it necessary to mention this in his report, because the appropriation of this Apostolic vocation was, at all events, to be accomplished by other instrumentalities at a later time. But since there was no reason for mentioning here, in presence of King Agrippa and his companions, the human instrumentality which Luke had in view for the interest of the Church, or for pointing out the mediation of a pious Jew, which St Paul might have been induced to do from a regard to the Jewish Assembly (see xxii. 12—16), it was here quite proper to state the words of the call in their original form. But it is just as probable that, not thinking it necessary to make mention of Ananias, St Paul concentrated the account, and, as Meyer says, ascribed to the Lord immediately, what, through the medium of Ananias, he had received as the word of the Lord.

But it is now prominently brought forward, that the Lord himself, as He appeared to St Paul, is to be the centre of all the service, and of the whole testimony, of the Apostle. For in the sentence: *εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὤφθην σοι, προχειρίσασθαί σε ὑπηρέτην καὶ μάρτυρα, ὧν τε εἶδες, ὧν τε ὀφθήσομαί σοι* (ver. 16), the words *ὧν τε εἶδες*, no doubt, refer to the appearance of the light mentioned above, in which the Lord was the centre. We have already endeavoured to prove, in how far this appearance of the Lord formed the foundation and substance of the Apostolic service and testimony. The second relative clause *ὧν τε ὀφθήσομαί σοι* establishes, then, the same relation of personal guidance and direction between the Lord and St Paul for his future ministry and testimony; so that the form and appearance of the Lord, at each particular time, was to be the determining principle for his Apostolic activity. As soon as one takes a proper view of the eminent and all-determining person of Jesus in reference to that which was revealed to St Paul, at His first revelation, no room will, for a moment longer, be given to an interpretation, to which even Winer is not unfavourably disposed (see Winer, Grammatik, S. 307), viz., to consider *ὀφθήσομαι* as a causative; but rather will Meyer be followed, who paraphrases *ὧν τε ὀφθήσομαι* in the following manner: "in regard to which I shall still appear to thee." This expression is very well suited to represent the person of Jesus, and its

immediate relation to St Paul as the exclusively guiding and determining principle of his life and ministry. But, just in that, there is implied a thoroughly satisfactory protection against all doubt and suspicion. For as soon as this circumstance is received with a disposition which sympathises with the history of Israel—as St Paul supposes in Agrippa—then it must be beyond all doubt that, within this Paulinic sphere, all that appears as determining and decisive which, since the words of Jehovah and His appearance to Abraham—*i.e.*, from the very commencement of all Israelitish history—has formed the highest rule; and, hence, that St Paul, in submitting to the guidance of the Divine appearance from heaven, does nothing else than join the great company, at the head of which are Abraham of Ur of the Chaldees, and Haran, and, afterwards, Israel in Raamses.

It will, at all events, be best, and is, at the same time, most natural, to refer the subsequent particip. clause ἐξαιρούμενός σε ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, to the main clause ὤφθην σοι προχειρίσασθαί σε ὑπηρέτην καὶ μάρτυρα; for the people and Gentiles, in reference to whom a Divine ministry is here declared for St Paul, are just they to whom, as is shown by the following relative clause, the ministry and testimony relate. The participle ἐξαιρούμενος itself has been differently understood by interpreters. Most of them have assigned to it the signification, "to deliver, to pull out." Others, however, *e.g.*, Heinrichs and Kühnöl, have assigned to it the signification, "to choose." It is evidently unsatisfactory to bring forward against the latter interpretation —as has been done by Meyer—the argument, that it is inadmissible on account of the words καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν; for we could well imagine that the whole sphere, to which the ministry of St Paul was to extend, is designated as that within which the choosing of St Paul takes place. But it is the Hellenistic *usus loquendi* which forbids us to take ἐξαιρεῖσθαι in that signification. For while it is undeniable that, in the classical *usus loquendi*, this word has the signification, "to choose," it is, as regards the Hellenistic *usus loquendi*, by no means settled—as Kühnöl points out, and Schleusner, in the Nov. Thes., who follows him—that this word takes the place of the Hebrew בָּחַר. For, as regards the two similar passages, to which reference is here commonly made, namely, Is. xlviii. 10, and Job xxxvi. 21, it is true that there

ἐξαιρεῖσθαι is used for the Hebrew בָּחַר; but it is more than questionable whether it is the word בָּחַר, or, rather, the sense which it obtains by the context, which is to be thereby rendered, so that ἐξαιρεῖσθαι is here also to be taken in its ordinary signification, "to deliver." It is different with the passage, Deut. xxxi. 11 (not Deut. xxxiii. 11, as Kühnöl and Schleusner quote). Here indeed ἐξαιρεῖσθαι occurs purely with the signification of the Hebrew בָּחַר. But, nevertheless, it would be wrong simply to refer to this passage, in order to prove that ἐξαιρεῖσθαι has this signification—as has been done by some. For, in the best manuscripts, in this passage too ἐκλέγηται is found; just as in many passages of Deuteronomy בָּחַר is rendered by ἐκλέγεσθαι, and in a connection altogether similar to that which exists here; ἐξέληται is only a different reading, which might, very easily, have arisen from a mistake of the writer; so that not one of the passages quoted can be used as a sure proof. But if ἐξαιρούμενος have, in this passage too, the signification of "to deliver, to preserve," which it ordinarily has in the Hellenistic, and in which it has already occurred in our book (see vii. 10; xii. 21); then this promise may be harmonised with the prospect of suffering opened up to St Paul from the very outset (see ix. 16), in such a manner that the promised Divine protection does not, by any means, preclude his getting into many dangers, and straits, and difficulties; just as the altogether similar promise (see Jer. i. 8), given to the prophet Jeremiah at his calling, was not intended to protect him from suffering imprisonment and hunger. The circumstance that St Paul, at his vocation to the Apostolic office, is promised protection and deliverance from the people and the Gentiles, farther implies, not only that his Apostolic vocation will bring him among the Jews as well as among the Gentiles, but also that, from both sides, danger and distress will arise. But, for this reason, we must so much the more regret the opinion of some interpreters who would, quite arbitrarily, limit the relative clause εἰς οὓς to τῶν ἐθνῶν. It is easily perceived, indeed, that they were led to this limitation by the consideration that St Paul's Apostolic office was ordained, not for Israel, but for the Gentiles (see xxii. 17—21); but the circumstance that, immediately afterwards (see xxii. 20),

St Paul makes express mention of his ministry among Jews, makes it sufficiently evident that this view of St Paul's Apostolic office must here not be exclusively urged. And, surely, we have clearly seen, in the course of St Paul's history, that his mission to the Gentiles becomes, by itself, at the same time, a mission to the Jews; inasmuch as access to the Gentiles leads through the Synagogue hardening itself and rejecting the Gospel, and that in the conversion of hardened Israel at last, the whole work of salvation among Gentiles will find its close and accomplishment. St Paul was thus unquestionably entitled, especially at the present point of the development, to urge the reference of his Apostolic office to the Jews also; and he had the greater reason for doing so on this occasion, that he had to defend himself against the charge of having apostatized from the manners and customs of his nation.

But in this we must view more minutely the peculiar designation of the contrariety between Jews and Gentiles which St Paul employs on this occasion, ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ver. 17; since he repeats it at the close of his discourse (ver. 23), and thereby clearly intimates that he has chosen it wittingly and on purpose. With regard to these expressions, the case stands thus, that λαός commonly corresponds to the Hebrew עַם, and ἔθνη most generally to the Hebrew גּוֹיִם; and, farther, that עַם is, in most cases, used in reference to the Jews, while גּוֹיִם, in the majority of cases, refers to the Gentiles. By this, of course, the contrariety expressed here is not explained; but, on the contrary, by the unusual contrasting of the two terms, with the evident references contained in them, we are obliged to ask, which peculiarity of the Jews on the one hand, and of the Gentiles on the other, is it intended to mark out in this way? Now, when Israel is designated as the people of God, or of Jehovah, and when the Gentiles must, accordingly, be regarded as the people of the world, the contrariety is evidently referred back to this different relation of God to Israel, and to the Gentile world, and is, hence, of very common occurrence, and easily understood. But, since this relation is not spoken of in this place, we are not at liberty to introduce it here, but must rather endeavour to discover, in how far the contrariety expresses itself,

in accordance with this designation, in the national character, as such. Now, since עַם and λαός are used of that nation which is privileged above all others, ὁ λαός can designate and mark out Israel in contrast to all other nations, only in such a manner that the highest perfection of all which is national—the people κατ' ἐξοχήν—is manifested in them; whilst all others are to be understood as such a company of nations, in which that which is national has not attained to such a degree of perfection. We should thus have here consistently proved the correctness of that *usus loquendi* in the Old Testament, according to which Israel, *per se*, and even when not contrasted with the Gentiles, is called הָעָם, as in Is. xl. 7; xxvi. 11. If we were to reduce this distinction to the more current one, we would say that the contrast between Israel and the Gentiles does not consist merely in the different relation of God to both, as such, but is manifested in the national character and institutions also, which have been produced and established by this different relation; so that Israel, as the people founded and guided by the grace of Jehovah, must be called a people, in a higher sense than the nations founded and guided by the creation of Elohim. But now, the question presents itself:—What is it which induces St Paul to lay such emphasis and stress upon this peculiarity of Israel? And while endeavouring to answer this question, we shall at the same time discover wherein this peculiarity shows itself.

The fact that St Paul designates Israel, as contrasted with the Gentiles, as the people κατ' ἐξοχήν, can have originated only from the same train of thoughts to which we were compelled to ascribe his declaration regarding the hope of the ten tribes. By all the contradictory appearances, by all the hatred and opposition which he had experienced from the Jews, he is not prevented from seeing, in this mass of the Jews scattered over all the earth, and raging against the kingdom of Jesus, that chosen part of mankind which, as an organised and separate community, has its eternal destination, and is, under all circumstances, brought onward towards its destiny and aim. It is because he views Israel with the eye of faith and hope, that, in the midst of the ruins of Israel's nationality, he is enabled to recognize and to hold fast, as present, the great and eternal destination of the people. In a similar manner, Isaiah, too, having recognized

the eternal people in Israel (see Is. xliv. 7; comp. Ewald on this passage:—and Sirach xxxvii. 28), feels himself under the necessity of also designating this people, as the people κατ' ἐξοχήν. And indeed the matter stands thus, that, when the people of Israel are viewed with the eye of faith and hope, a whole series of features are discovered which make the national customs and institutions of Israel appear in a light of perfection which is altogether incomparable. Let us bring to mind some of these features, in order that we may realize, somewhat more fully, the Apostle's view of his fellow-citizens which is implied in this designation. In so far as nationality is founded on God's creation, it is a blessing in which every member of the nation has a share, and which he is called upon, and bound to preserve and to foster. In this respect, the sins of the individual, as well as the sins of the whole, are encroachments upon the nationality; and we see, even from this, that, on the territory of the Gentiles, where no promise of grace is given for the nationality, and where, hence, nature alone prevails in this respect, the nationality is destroyed by the dominion of sin. But, in Israel, the nationality is, from the outset, founded on and by grace; and hence it is here that the word holds true that, where sin abounds, grace much more abounds. For so little is sin excluded from Israel, that, on the contrary, it assumes among them only a still worse character. Of course, the nationality of Israel, too, is affected by sin; but so much the more clearly may be seen the traces of the victory of grace over sin. In Israel, too, the sin of the apostacy of the ten tribes from the legitimate dynasty is found; and, inasmuch as this apostacy is so much the more heinous and punishable in the holy people, who have received their king by an extraordinary act of God's grace, the chain of mischievous consequences following from that beginning is so much the more pernicious and fatal also. But it was, after all, a part only of Israel that rebelled against the house of David, while, on the contrary, the other portion opposed to that Ephraimitic apostacy, with its whole train of violent revolutions, an immoveable fidelity to the house of David, and witnessed, in the course of half a millennium, only one violent shaking of the throne; and even that was caused and carried out in the sense and interest of legitimacy. We may, therefore, consider this persevering fidelity and attachment of the house of Judah to its

royal dynasty as an overcoming of the revolutionary principle which came to an eruption in Israel. Nor did the sin of internal division and hostility among the tribes of Israel fail to manifest itself; but the necessary counterpoise was as little wanting in this diminution of the nationality. I shall not press the circumstance that, within Judah, there was never a want of men who constantly took a cordial and active interest in separated Israel, and filled up the existing gap of separation by their love and hope. Nor shall I lay any stress on the circumstance that, in Israel, too, at all times, men were found who held fast, in their hearts, the connexion with Judah and the house of David; but to one fact of general reconciliation and union which took place in the midst of the most cruel war between those brethren, and which originated in Israel, I wish to direct attention. Immediately upon the sad history of the bloody slaughter and raging of the Ephraimites among the brotherly tribe of Judah, there follows, in the Book of Chronicles, the account how, at the word of the prophet Oded, four Ephraimite heads of families rose, and prevailed upon the whole people to clothe the brethren who had just been taken prisoners in the bloody battle, to give them to eat and to drink, to anoint them, and then to bring them back again to Jericho, to their brethren (2 Chron. xxviii. 5—15; comp. Caspari on the Syro-Ephraimitish war, S. 15). The incomparable peculiarity of the nationality of Israel farther comes out, and is manifested, in a striking manner, in the exile and dispersion of the Jews. When a people is carried away out of its country, and deprived of its independence, it usually shares the fate of an uprooted tree. But although Israel has, for thousands of years, experienced this fate of being uprooted, it has not fared thus; and this is a sign that this nationality has an indestructible character. But, perhaps, it may be said that the Jews preserve their nationality by their isolating and secluding themselves, in their dispersion, from other nationalities in the midst of whom they are living. Any thing but this is the case; on the contrary, they are everywhere anxious to accommodate and unite themselves to all the national peculiarities and relations of the country; and, in this effort, they, indeed, wonderfully succeed. But seeing this, their manifold and inexhaustible elasticity, our astonishment can only be

increased at the solidity and strength of their nationality, which is, nevertheless, constantly preserved and unmistakeable. In the midst of the countries of the Gentiles to which they become familiarized and accustomed, so as to consider them as a second home, Jerusalem and the Holy Land are, even to this day, not forgotten by them; and the praying Jew, wherever he may be, directs his face to the place of the sanctuary (see Buxtorf, Synagog. Jud. p. 222). And so likewise, notwithstanding all the temptations and seductions to the contrary, and although with many, a certain laxity has taken place, the customs of the fathers are, upon the whole, held fast with an inexhaustible tenacity, and that just in those essential points which are most objectionable, and most difficult of practice—such as the keeping of the Sabbath, and circumcision. Finally—the language of the fathers is held in high honor like a sacred good; so that, even in the so-called "German Temples,"[1] the Hebrew popular language has retained a position by no means unimportant. It is these and similar features of the Jews in the captivity which the Apostle has in his mind, when he calls the Jews the people κατ' ἐξοχήν, and contrasts them with all other nations; and by this designation we are anew convinced that the completion of the individual life in Christ is to St Paul no obstacle in the way of his recognizing and declaring the right and importance of the national life.

It is just by thus rising above the merely individual point of view, that the Apostle is enabled to express himself, as he does in the subsequent verses (ver. 17, 18) regarding his vocation, in a manner so universally comprehensive, and that he comes up to his position before King Agrippa, and his Roman company. In this thorough-going and comprehensive declaration, two things are contained, namely, the condition of the world before the redemption, and the condition of the faithful after the redemption. With respect to the first of these, it is indeed true that the features in the condition before the redemption which the Apostle states are chiefly met with among Gentiles; and by this fact, we can the more easily account for the circumstance, that some interpreters would limit the relative εἰς οὕς to the

[1] The Author refers to the Temples of the so-called reformed, or modern Jews, in Hamburg, Berlin, and other places.—[TR.]

Gentiles (see Baur, der Apostel Paulus, S. 71). But we have already seen that this arbitrary limitation is inadmissible, and can, for this reason, only grant that, in this description, St Paul had the Gentiles chiefly in view; we shall, however, upon a more minute examination, easily see that the condition even of the Jews, at that time, was such that the same features might very aptly apply to them also. They, then, to whom St Paul is sent, are, according to this declaration, represented as having their eyes shut, and as being encompassed by darkness. What else is this than the condition of sleeping and not seeing, which is connected, and agrees with the condition of the outward world, inasmuch as it is encompassed by this darkness of the night? The condition of having the eyes shut by sleep is that of the Gentiles, who neither see the majesty nor holiness of God, but who lift up their eyes to the sun and to idols (Deut. iv. 19; Ezek. xvii. 12—15, 16; xxxiii. 25); nor even the lowliness and frailty of man (see Ps. ix. 21), but set themselves against the Most High (see Ps. ii. 1—3); who, therefore, are entirely in ignorance regarding the two-fold foundation of all knowledge, and, hence, are kept captive in ignorance itself (see Acts xvii. 30). But even if the Gentiles were willing to open their eyes, they could not see any more than a sleeping man, awakening in the middle of the night, and opening his eyes, would be able to see anything on account of the darkness; for the light of Divine revelation does not shine upon them, because God has suffered all nations to walk in their own ways (see Acts xiv. 16), and has not shown His statutes and judgments to any Gentile nation (see Ps. cxl. vii. 19, 20). The witness of God in the works of creation remains, indeed, to the Gentiles (see Acts xiv. 17; Rom. i. 19, 20); but this is no clear day-light, because it does not illuminate the way on which the sinner may come to God, and, hence, does not throw any light upon the present state of the Gentiles shut up in sin.

But now we know that, although the nations have their eyes shut, and are in midnight darkness, they yet do not, by any means, sit still, but are astir, and engaged in active pursuits. But if, notwithstanding, that declaration of their sleep and night cannot be revoked, how are we to conceive of this condition of bustle and activity? It is evident that this working and acting of the

nations cannot proceed originally from themselves, any more than it can be directed and watched over by themselves. There must, hence, exist a power extraneous to them, which influences the nations, and as much excites them to such working and acting, as it determines it. Hence there necessarily arises in this context the thought of a superior power which exists without the nations. This power is ascribed to Satan, and, by this feature, the description of the condition previous to the redemption is completed. Paul, therefore, declares Satan, or the Adversary, to be he who, as the primary cause, directs the nations which move and act with their eyes closed in the darkness. As St Paul is convinced that the first seduction of the woman by the subtlety of the serpent still exists (see 2 Cor. xi. 3), and as he derives every tempting and seducing power in the present from the cunning and power of the devil and wicked one as its primary cause (see Ephes. ii. 2; vi. 11—17; 2 Cor. iv. 3), there cannot be any doubt that, by the subtlety of the serpent which beguiled Eve, he does not understand anything else than the cunning of the adverse spirit. Accordingly, the first deed of man has been determined by the will and effort of the Adversary. This source and character of the first deed of the first man must, of course, necessarily continue to determine the direction of all man's actions and conduct, as long as that first determination of man has not been unsettled or annihilated by a free determination, and by a deed within mankind of an equally universal effect with that first deed at the beginning of mankind. Now since, in the Gentile world, such a new restoring deed is out of the question, for this simple reason:—that, within this territory, there does not exist even the possibility of a new, universal commencement,—it is quite evident that the effects of that first evil influence must, in the territory of the Gentiles, be lasting. It follows, then, as a matter of course, that that spiritual power which determined and directed the first deed of mankind, must also, for all time coming, remain within heathendom as that power which rules over and causes everything. But if it be the power of the Adversary which, as the primary cause, determines and directs the nations, then, from this side, it follows likewise that they move, or suffer themselves to be moved, with closed eyes, and in the darkness of the night; for they are not only determined from without, but they are deter-

mined by a power which is κατ' ἐξοχήν antagonistically disposed, and, hence, antagonistically disposed to themselves also. We shall not be able to accuse of untruth, or even of severity, this statement of St Paul regarding such an influence and dominion of Satan determining, in the first instance, the whole Gentile world; because we find it confirmed by experience from the midst of the Gentile Church, in regard to which we may appeal to the testimony of Luther, as one by itself sufficient: "The devil has formerly led and ruled us in such a manner, that we, caught in his snares, were obliged to think, to speak, and to do everything according to his will and pleasure" (see Hauspostille, S. 323, new ed.) It cannot, however, be denied that harshness, as well as falsehood, are mixed up with this statement, when it is considered, not so much in its biblical, as in the current doctrinal connexion. We are, therefore, obliged, for this very reason, to enter upon this point; as the question must be forced upon us:—How was it that St Paul could have entered in Athens, as we found him doing, upon the disposition of the Gentiles towards their idolatry and art, if he was convinced that the Gentiles are standing entirely under the supreme direction and influence of Satan?

While it is common with us to bring forward the ethical aspect only, in our representations of Satan, it is peculiar to Scripture to bring forward the physical or cosmic, in addition to the ethical or moral, although, by the very name, it declares the latter to be the more important. The circumstance that Satan is often called, by our Lord, the prince of this world, might perhaps be explained in this way, that it is intended thereby to express the submission of the world to the seducing will of the Adversary; just as in Rev. xii. 9, he is designated as the deceiver of the whole inhabited earth. But when, in tempting Jesus, he arrogates to himself the power to give the kingdoms of the world and their glory to whomsoever he wills (see Luke iv. 5, 6), the whole strength of the temptation lies in this,—that his assertion be true. But in this there is implied a relation of power on the part of Satan to the destinies of the world, which cannot have its foundation solely in the seduced wills of the rulers of the world, and of men in general, but in a more original ordinance of God; and the words ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται, evidently refer it to God. And it is only under this distinct supposition of such an original relation of the

power of Satan and his kingdom to the general sphere of existence of the earth and mankind, that we can account for the designations by which St Paul calls the evil spirits—such as: ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι (see Col. ii. 15), κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους, πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις (see Eph. vi. 12); ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος (see Eph. ii. 2). With this is very closely connected the circumstance, that St Paul most emphatically points to the manifestation of the power of the demons in relation to their worshippers (1 Cor. x. 20; xii. 2; 2 Cor. iv. 4). When viewed in such a connection, the statement of the Apostle also acquires emphasis, when he says that the devil had prevented him from carrying out his plan of coming to see the Church of Thessalonica (1 Thess. ii. 18). Most clearly is this relation of Satan to the cosmic powers and ordinances seen in the Book of Revelation. For, not only is there ascribed to the devil the power of delivering up the followers of Jesus to prison (see Rev. ii. 10); not only are single miracles performed on earth by the false prophets who are subject to his influence (see Rev. xiii. 13—15, comp. xix. 20); but it is also from none other than the dragon that the beast from the abyss receives the whole of the power and dominion which it possesses over the whole earth and its inhabitants (Rev. xiii. 2—4). Thus, that which the Son of Man rejected with indignation, we see received by the man who is the beast; and thus the whole power of Satan on earth has come out from its concealed background, and has entered into the region of manifest reality and history.

In the Old Testament, too, we find the same supposition of a relation of power between the evil spirits and the present world. We have already remarked that the Old Testament does not consider the idols of the Gentiles to be fictitious beings, but that it ascribes to them existence and power (see Numb. xxxiii. 4, and the author's Theologischen Commentar I. i. 469). Connected with this is the fact, that Daniel speaks of spiritual powers, who, on the one hand, have power over the various forms of the kingdoms of the world, and, on the other, are in hostile opposition to the kingdom of God, and to His people (see Dan. x. 13, 20, 21; xi. 1). But all this appears to be comprehended in that which the Book of Job intimates regarding the relation of Satan to the earth and mankind. The attempt has

been made to establish the opinion, that the Satan of the Book of Job does not yet possess the same wickedness which we find connected with this name in the other Books of Scripture. But that is a mere delusion, which arose from the circumstance that not sufficient attention was paid to what is elsewhere in Scripture said regarding his cosmic relation; and that, hence, the dramatic representation of this relation in the Book of Job was found to be altogether strange. The wickedness of Satan is sufficiently indicated by his standing designation; but, besides this, it is manifested by deeds also, specially by his suspicion of that perfect and upright servant of God—Job—as well as by his joy over Job's sufferings. But, notwithstanding this, Satan appears before the heavenly throne of Jehovah, in the midst of the sons of God (Job i. 6; ii. 1). And the circumstance that Satan says, each time, that he comes "from going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it" (Job i. 7; ii. 2) points to an abiding relation to the earthly sphere, as has been rightly remarked by Ewald, and, lately, also by Hahn. But this becomes still more evident by the farther account of the Book regarding Satan's conduct. In the complaint of Satan, that Jehovah had made an hedge about Job, and about his house, and about all that he had on every side (Job i. 10), it is implied that, on the earth on which Job lives, there exists a hostile and injurious power which, on all sides, stands, in a threatening and destructive attitude, in opposition to man, and to all that he has. From the further history of Job, it follows that this threatening and destructive power is that of the Adversary. Satan, it is true, dares not, without the permission of Jehovah, touch a hair of Job; but after all that Job possesses has been given, by Jehovah, into the hands of Satan, he carries out his ill will against Job, by the means and powers which he has at his disposal. The account evidently means to suggest that we are to conceive of the Sabeans and Chaldeans (Job i. 15—17), as well as of the lightning and wind (Job i. 16—19), as instruments in the service of Satan in his intentions against Job; so that he thus appears as having power over the men on earth, and the elements in air. No instrumentality, indeed, is mentioned afterwards, when he smites the body of Job with sore boils (Job ii. 7); but even this influence of Satan upon the

bodily organism of Job cannot be conceived of, without Satan's possessing a power within the earthly and human sphere.

But the last disclosure regarding this relation of Satan to the earth and mankind, we receive in the primeval history of man. There is no doubt that an evil antagonistic will is speaking out of the serpent. Such, however, cannot be included in the Divine declaration regarding the work of the six days: "Behold, it was all very good." But, nevertheless, that will not only exists, but has also taken possession of the serpent, which belongs to the beasts of the field, and, hence, is created within the six days. But not only do we find an evil will and spirit in connexion with a creature of God, but, by means of the serpent, this evil will and spirit appears in the garden of God, the centre of the whole newly created world, and addresses his word to man who was appointed by God to be the king of the earth. This entrance of the evil spirit into the midst of the creation of God is introduced as something which exists simply, and as a matter of course; and it is for this reason that we cannot conceive of it in any other way than as resting in a relation of this spirit to the world of man, which was founded even before the work of the six days. Of this relation I find a trace in Gen. i. 2, where the earth is described as a territory of darkness, of emptiness, and of the roaring deep. In such a condition of the earth, I cannot, by any means, even now recognize the beginning of the ways and works of God. It is true that Delitzsch (see Comment. on Gen. S. 63) maintains that if the second verse were not intended to be viewed as a simple sequel to the creation of heaven and earth, reported in the first, the words ought to have been וַתְּהִי הָאָרֶץ and not וְהָאָרֶץ הָיְתָה. But this remark, how correct soever it may be in itself, does not decide anything in the matter,—as I already shewed in my commentary. For although I do not doubt that, in ver. 2, a condition of the earth is described, and not a change; yet this condition may, after all, very well be such an one as has not been effected by God's creation, but by something else. Hofmann farther remarks that תֹּהוּ וָבֹהוּ do not signify "desolation and emptiness," because תֹּהוּ is often used in the signification of "nothing," and as synonymous with אַיִן, אֶפֶס and בְּלִימָה (see Schriftbeweis i. 242); but, in making

this remark, he overlooks three things:—*First*, that to the consciousness of the Old Testament which is so full of life, the notion of "nothing" is, by no means, one of a purely privative nature, but often implies the severest censure, as is proved by the *usus loquendi* לֹא־אֵל אָוֶן שָׁוְא בְּלִיַּעַל (Job xxx. 8) בְּלִי־שֵׁם, (comp. Ewald on Job x. 22, לֹא־סְדָרִים, Lehrbuch, 286, g.). *Secondly*, the reading is not תֹּהוּ, but תֹּהוּ וָבֹהוּ; by such a paranomastic addition, the idea is emphatically strengthened, and that again leads us to the idea of reproof; for the simple notion "of absence of all definite form" would have been sufficiently expressed by a simple predicate. And, finally, in the other two passages, in which we meet with the connexion of the two words occurring here, namely, in Is. xxxiv. 11, and Jer. iv. 33, they are undeniably used in the sense of "desolation and devastation." Nor does it appear to me to be unimportant that the tradition of the synagogue assigns to תֹּהוּ in this description, a bad signification,—as may be seen from the book Bahir, in which Satan is called the Prince of the Tohu (see Molitor über die Tradition, iii. 353, 623). With regard, now, to the other two statements in Genesis, as to the primeval condition of the earth, viz., that it was surrounded with darkness, and covered by the roaring deep, Hofmann, with whose view these would still less fall in, has passed them over in silence; and Delitzsch must grant the correctness of all that I, in my Commentary, had said regarding the relation of these two features to the kingdom of the Evil One. The view of Delitzsch (see Gen. S. 64), who, in this description of the primeval earth, would find expressed that "the pure matter is that which is positively ungodly," I can only consider as a blunder; for the interpretation of Scripture, instead of receiving such a notion from Philosophy, has rather the duty of serving as a corrective of it. *Finally*—I would still direct attention to Job xxii. 11, where the suffering which has destroyed the prosperity of Job is described as darkness, and floods of water that cover. This analogy is the more important, the more frequent are the references of the Book of Job to the beginnings of things.

But, now, if the condition of the earth, as described in Gen. i. 2, be such as that we cannot recognize in it the impress of the first work of God, of which the first word of Scripture tells us,

there remains only the supposition, that this condition of the earth has been produced by a will and a spirit antagonistic to God; and of the existence of such a will and spirit, our consciences and Scripture bear witness. But such again is conceivable, only if the earth has been given up altogether to this will and spirit, and if there be assumed a primeval relation of this will and spirit to the earth,—a relation which had its foundation in the creation of heaven and earth. On this ground, we obtain the following view:—The earth which, in the beginning, proceeded from the creation of God, is given to an exalted and princely spirit, with a host of other spirits subordinate to him, as the territory of his dominion, and of the manifestation of his power. But this was the same spirit who rebelled against God, and made himself the centre; and his apostacy became, at the same time, the apostacy of the spirits subordinate to him. The simple consequence of this apostacy of the spirits was the devastation, the darkening, the dominion of the roaring abyss on the earth, as the territory and sphere appointed for these spirits. It is only one ray of light which falls into this darkness of the chaotic wilderness; the Spirit of God is still moving on the waters; the Spirit of God will not forsake this place—the scene of Divine miracles, and the abode of blessed spirits,—nor give it up to the powers of destruction. It is at once intimated to us, indeed, that the preservation of the earthly sphere is not to be accomplished by force, such as casting the fallen spirits beyond its limits; but that a farther development is intended, and that on it, therefore, it is that a better Future for the earth must depend. The farther work of the six days, which exhibits man as the Lord of the renewed earth, is thus quite in harmony with the significant hint contained in the animating moving of the Spirit of God upon the face of the roaring waters. We now see what is intended with respect to the Future of the earth. Man is to take the place of the original prince of the world; but not in such a manner, that the latter is to be cast out by external force, but that he who has become wicked might be overcome by man, so that the evil, which arose in a creature of God, might thus be overcome and inwardly removed by a creature of God, in order then to be destroyed outwardly also. Now we conceive how it is that Satan has access to the serpent and to Paradise. We further

conceive why it is that the history of man must begin with a struggle with the serpent. Man, it is true, now falls into the snares of him who was a liar and a murderer from the beginning; but the cause of man against the Adversary is not decided with this fall, because there is given to human nature, not only an active, but also a receptive faculty; and in consequence of this receptive faculty, there exists the possibility of placing a new, original, and divine beginning to the history of mankind. The Adversary, however, is limited in the exercise of his power, in so far only as this receptive faculty, which remained unimpaired in the first fall, still keeps open the further development, and renders possible another decision of the main question. But, in every other respect, he obtains, by his victory over men, the right of again entering upon his original property; only—he must keep within those ordinances and laws which, by the second creation, have been preserved in the cosmic system of the earth, and which are calculated for the development of mankind as yet undecided. And thus we have found that modification, under which we have to conceive of the dominion of Satan over the Gentiles, of which St Paul speaks in this passage.

After having thus attempted to realize, according to the intimations of Scripture, the cosmic relation of Satan to the world, we see that the dominion of Satan over the nations must not be viewed as a direct one, but must be conceived of as being bound to, and limited by the cosmic ordinances and laws, created by God, and given over to Satan. The power of Satan may, it is true, be so increased, that the human consciousness is altogether drawn into the will and mind of the adversary. This is then the highest degree of sin, in the case of which it is usual with Scripture to draw aside the veil from the abyss of perdition, and to allow us to look into the mystery of wickedness (see v. 3; xiii. 10). But, in the passage under consideration, it is not a wickedness or corruption particularly heightened which is spoken of, but the general condition of mankind before the redemption. It is, therefore, altogether right that here, in speaking of Satan's dominion over the Gentiles, we should keep in mind the whole cosmic organism, by means of which the devil exercised his influence and power over the nations. For, when we bear this in mind, we may always assert that, within this dominion, much

may be found, in nations as well as in single individuals, that is great, noble, true, and beautiful. This one thing only we shall be obliged to deny, that all the great, noble, true, and beautiful, which nations and single individuals appropriate to themselves from the creation of God, either delivers them from Satan's dominion, or brings them into communion with God; because neither the nations nor the single individuals have the power to free themselves from the direction of the will by which man has given himself over to the word of the liar; and, hence, all must remain subject to the will and power of the supreme spirit who reigns within the cosmic ordinances.

It is, then, on the receptive faculty in man's nature, that God, after sin had entered the world, founded the possibility of a development of the history of salvation; and this possibility has been introduced to the world as a reality, by Abraham's being called by the word of Jehovah, which corresponds to the word of Elohim, by which the world was created. The God of grace prepared for himself out of that one man, a people beside the nations of this earth, which, indeed, were, like all other people, subjected to the cosmic ordinances; but in such a way, that those ordinances were previously sanctified by God's word and work, and were thus enabled to become the organs of Divine power and goodness. There thus existed on the earth, in the midst of the nations, a territory which, by the power of Divine grace and human faith, had been snatched from the power of Satan,—a territory which stood under the care of the Angel in whom there is the name of Jehovah (Exod. xxiii. 21). But when this process of development, begun by the calling of Abraham, had reached its culminating height, when the royal dignity and office had reached its completion in David, the warlike hero, and in Solomon, the Prince of Peace, then it was seen that, for the restoration of mankind, one essential point was yet wanting. For Satan rose and tempted David (see 1 Chron. xxi. 1), and David did not resist the temptation; and Solomon, too, was tempted by his women from among the Gentiles, and seduced to the service of idols (1 Kings xi. 1—10). It is true that, even after such a fall, the kingdom of David still remained the means of salvation for Israel; just as human nature, after having been corrupted, has remained the only organ of the thoughts

of God for the salvation of the world. But ever since, the outward form and appearance of this kingdom has taken a downward course. A decisive crisis on this path of destruction now appears, at the moment when Ahaz, the son and successor of David, refuses, by his unbelief, the hand of Divine mercy stretched out for the last time (see Is. vii. 1—12). Then that was carried out which had already begun under Jotham, viz., that Jehovah, instead of protecting and securing Judah from its enemies, sends enemies against His people (see 2 Kings xv. 37); or, as Isaiah expresses it, the wall, which hitherto had protected the vineyard of Israel, was now broken down, and the vineyard itself given up to being trodden down (Is. v. 5.) The time now approaches when Israel is separated from its country, and scattered among the Gentiles; when thus the whole formation of a kingdom of God in the midst of the kingdoms of the world is destroyed from out of the visible sphere of this world. This is the hiding of Jehovah's face from Israel, which is so emphatically announced by Isaiah, and his contemporary, Micah (see Is. viii. 17; liv. 8; lix. 2; lxiv. 7; Mic. iii. 4; comp. Jer. xxxiii. 5; Ezek. xxxix. 23, 24), and which had already been threatened by Moses for the time of apostacy (see Deut. xxxii. 20). But the unveiled countenance of Jehovah is, for Israel, the real and true light (see Num. vi. 25, 26; Ps. xliv. 4), which centres in the house of David as the light of Israel (see 2 Sam. xxi. 17). With this time, accordingly, darkness and night set in for Israel; and the separation between the darkness of Egypt and the light of Israel, which represented the contrast between the Gentiles and the people, is removed (see Mic. vii. 8; Is. viii. 22; lx. 2). Israel's people and land were henceforth subjected to the power of the Gentiles, and, therefore, given over to the same supreme spiritual power to which the whole world had been subjected. The Old Testament Scriptures upon this point not only speak of Jehovah's forsaking Israel (see Is. liv. 7; Jer. xii. 7), but also of Israel's being sold by Jehovah to a strange power (Deut. xxxii. 30; Is. l. 1; lii. 3). From this it is explained, that the same condition of sleeping in darkness, and of captivity, under the power of Satan, is, by St Paul, in the passage before us, asserted of the Jews, in the same manner as of the Gentiles.

But it is just from the circumstance that, with the extinction

of Israel's light, darkness also breaks in upon Israel, and that, hence, the whole world is again covered by the night, that the possibility of a general deliverance from the power of the darkness, and of a rising of light, is prepared for the whole earth. For whilst, elsewhere, the extinction of the Divine light among all the Gentiles is connected with this feature, that the eyes are closed in the darkness;—in Israel the phenomenon is seen, that the mass, indeed, are likewise given up to the power of sleep (see Is. vi. 9, 10; xxix. 10), but that, at the same time, there are individuals,—and these, indeed, such as, by their individuality and position, have a representative significance,—who resist the power of darkness, and, in the midst of the night, are, with waking eyes, waiting for the light of the morning; and who, although they do not see the face of Jehovah, yet, in faith, hold fast His word and testimony (see Is. viii. 16, 17; xvii. 9; xxviii. 16; Mic. v. 6—8; vii. 8). But the example of him who, at that period of the Israelitish people's history, has most minutely exhibited to us his life and position as the most distinct and beautiful type of a conduct well pleasing to God—viz., the prophet Jeremiah, clearly shows that the representatives of Israel were, as little as Job, the servant of Jehovah, fully equal to the temptation of being given up to the power of darkness, and to that of being forsaken by God; for as Job, so Jeremiah also, under the burden of this temptation, cursed the day of his birth (see Jer. xv. 10; xx. 14—18; comp. Job iii. 2—12).

The perfection of this waiting, in the midst of the night, for the light of the morning, is brought before us in Mary. This virgin of Israel, this daughter of Zion, is, amid the darkness which, like midnight, has broken in upon Israel's people and land, by the establishment of the Roman kingdom of the world, living in the midst of the sacred hymns and promises of the Divinely-ordained past history of her people (see Luke i. 46—56). That, in this waiting and waking, she had not been discouraged and shaken by any power of the darkness, was seen when, in full faith, she submitted to the word of God by the Angel, which was more directly and personally addressed to her than it had ever been to any one, and so perfected her faith (see Luke i. 45). It was thus that, in her, was realized the character of

Israel, as the virgin of whom Isaiah had prophesied in that eventful moment when the night was setting in upon Israel. And it was thus that mankind had gained that position, and that stage on which, by means of their receptive faculty, a new beginning might be planted in the midst of them by God, without breaking and destroying the connexion with the first beginning. This new beginning of mankind is, in accordance with its nature and position, called: "the Son of man." For this reason, the first work imposed upon the Son of man is to take up the struggle with the wicked one, at that very place where it had been left by man (הָאָדָם); for He was manifested for this purpose that He might destroy the works of the devil (see 1 John iii. 8). The Son of man was placed under the dominion of the night, and the power of Satan; He lived in the world separated from, and forsaken by God.* But whilst man in paradise had been overcome by the temptation of Satan, the Son of man in the desert overcame Satan by absolutely renouncing all that is in the world,—the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life,—and by uniting himself to the Scripture of the Holy Spirit,—the only thing in the visible world which had remained purely Divine. Thereby the power of Satan was, for the first time, broken. But here we at once see that this first and perfect victory over the power of the wicked one should not have the effect of at once driving the Adversary out of his possession; for nothing in the entire relation between God and the world is changed, in consequence of that victory. The counsel of God is evidently intended to make this victory over Satan general among mankind; so that, in the same manner as man had generally submitted to the dominion of Satan, they should also, generally, emancipate themselves from it. For this reason, even after his first victory, the battle must be resumed by the Lord as the Son of man, and fought throughout a whole human life, until the last breath. We then see that, in the death of Jesus, this struggle is perfected into a complete victory; inasmuch as He, being in His whole nature given over to the power of darkness (ἐξουσαί τοῦ σκότους, Luke xxiii. 53), and to the condition of being forsaken by God (see Matt. xxvii. 46), held immoveably fast, to the last moment, his faith in God (Matt. xxvi. 42).

It is by means of this, His disposition and faith, which, up to the last moment of His life, was turned towards the eternal light of God, without intermission and without fainting, it is by means of this that the Son of man has, by the eternal Spirit purified into heavenly light His body which was taken from the earth, and given up to the power of darkness and Satan; and it is thus that, in the midst of the dark earth, in the dark world, He has again created a place for the eternal light. But because He desired that all should follow after Him, and, in His strength, appropriate to themselves His victory, He has withdrawn His glorified person from the visible world, and transferred it to the hidden depth of heaven. He says, indeed, that the Prince of this world is judged (see John xvi. 11), and that he beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven (see Luke x. 18), and, no doubt, an actual change in the position of the Adversary is declared thereby; for the first time, the never disturbed continuity and integrity of his dominion in the world has been broken, and the foundation laid for gaining mankind back from his power. But just as a man who does not believe in the Son of man is thereby judged, although his position in the world may remain unchanged, so it is also with the judgment upon the Prince of the world. And the circumstance of his having once fallen from heaven does not hinder, that only after the victory of Christ has passed upon the world, just as the sin of Adam had done, he shall be finally cast down from heaven as the accuser of the saints (Rev. xii. 10). The manner, however, in which Christ's victory over the darkness and power of Satan spreads itself, and may be appropriated by man, is here declared and exhibited by the Apostle Paul, in a way suited to the significant local and temporary circumstances. For it is only now that it becomes fully manifest, why it is that the Lord appeared to him in a form of light which, as he emphatically points out, must outshine the brightness of the mid-day sun (see ver. 13). For it is thus that He manifests himself as the light of the world which, like the sun, has to dispel the night; and since the darkness which covers Jews and Gentiles is thicker than the darkness of the natural night, His light must be brighter than the light of the sun. Just as light operates upon those who are asleep, in the way of opening their eyes involuntarily, so it happens here also; but the farther effect differs in the same manner also

as it is wont to be different, in the natural order, with different people. While the eyes of the vigilant and diligent, when once awakened by the light, remain boldly open to the light, the eye of the lazy and secure turns again from the light to the darkness. And thus St Paul was awakened and alarmed by the light of Christ, in order that henceforth he might uninterruptedly remain with his eyes turned towards the light. His companions, however, consider this brightness of the day to be a lightening in the night, and continue to sleep (see ver. 13, 14). By his having now, in a manner so original and extraordinary, received this light of Christ in his heart, St Paul is, above all others, called and enabled to spread, in the night of the Jews and Gentiles, the effect of the light of Christ. It is for this reason that he designates the call which came to him as "God shining into his heart" (see 2 Cor. iv. 6); so that the ray of Divine light has irradiated and illumined his heart; and thus is fulfilled that which the Lord promised to His disciples,—that they themselves were called to become the light of the world, just as He is so, in the original sense (see Matt. v. 14; comp. John viii. 12). We see from this that the old comparison of St Paul to the sun, which lies at the foundation of the well known passage, 1 Clem. ad Corinth. vi., rests upon a right understanding of St Paul's apostolic ministry, as proceeding from the East to the West. The same idea is contained in the words of the Lord himself, in the passage before us. For St Paul, the servant and witness of the Lord, evidently ascribes that effect to the light in which the Lord had appeared to him; and the Apostle, illuminated by the light of the Lord, is to let beam forth, by his words and life, the Divine light into the night of the Gentiles and Jews, in order that he may open the eyes of those who are asleep, and turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God (ver. 18). We can, and must not conceive of this ministry of the Apostle in any other way, than as a repetition of the work of Christ himself, against the power of darkness and of Satan,—a repetition produced in him by the power of the Spirit of the Lord. But just as St Paul's conversion and calling were not accomplished by the work of the Lord alone, but the susceptibility of St Paul was also necessary for it; so, in the conversion of Jews and Gentiles to God, the

subjective element of the right conduct of the individuals towards the work of the Apostle is as essential. The more that the Apostle is conscious of the significance and importance of his present testimony before Agrippa, and his distinguished Gentile associates, the more important must it appear to him to bring out this subjective view of the matter. For this reason it is that, as he has nowhere so fully and comprehensively described his own office as here, he does not, even here, nor indeed anywhere else, omit to communicate, from the words of the Lord by which he was called, those which refer to the right conduct of man towards the Apostolic testimony. The infinitive τοῦ λαβεῖν added, without connexion, to τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι, does not only, as Meyer says, contain the statement regarding the final object to which the call of St Paul is directed; but the contrast of the subject which is implied in λαβεῖν, and is, moreover, indicated by αὐτούς, certainly shows that the thought passes over to the opposite side of the relation which exists betwixt Paul and his hearers. It is true that thus the whole work of the Apostle is brought to a close; but it must not be overlooked that, since the aim and object of the Divine work is the redemption and blessedness of men, such aim and object cannot be attained without the co-operation of man himself, which corresponds with the working of God. For this reason, the expectation raised by the term τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτούς, is beautifully answered by the words πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ. For by these words the way is pointed out in which the individuals are to appropriate Jesus' victory over darkness and Satan. But faith is the ethical completion of the receptive faculty, over which Satan has not received any power. After a new beginning has, in this manner, been planted in the midst of mankind, by the birth of Jesus, the possibility is opened up to all of entering, with this new beginning, into the same communion of life, into which, by their birth, they were placed with the first beginning of the history of mankind. Just as in the way of nature, by the deed of the active human faculty, all have been brought into connexion with the sin and death of Adam; so by the receptive faculty, on the ethical way, that is, by faith, all may be received into the communion of the life of Christ which came forth victoriously from the darkness from, and the power of Satan.

The statement regarding the two-fold consequences of such a position of faith perfectly agrees with this view founded on the context. By faith Jews and Gentiles receive, in the first place, forgiveness of sins (ver. 18). The discourse, which takes cognizance of the grand relations of the world and of nations, turns, with the mention of sins, towards the consciousness and the conscience of every individual, and, by such a recollection, it changes the general idea of the darkness and the power of Satan in the world, into one which is tangible and concrete to every individual. Every one among Jews and Gentiles has, by his own sins, made the apostacy of Adam his own apostacy, and has thereby himself raised up a wall of separation between God and himself (see Is. lix. 2), and removed himself from the light of God, to darkness. By his sins, every one has made Adam's submission to the obedience of the Beast, and hence to the obedience of the Adversary, his own submission, and has thereby entered into the service of the ruler of the cosmic ordinances. The recollection of one's own sins causes to every one, therefore, the painful feeling of the pressure of a darkness repugnant to human nature (see Eccl. xi. 7), and of the dominion of him who is the Adversary. But beyond that painful feeling, man cannot get; for all the efforts of man can be directed to the world only, and can only sink him deeper in the world; and the whole order of the condition of the world has been made subject to that very hostile ruler. Now, although that very painful feeling of man regarding the inappropriateness of his whole position—a feeling which has been awakened by the consciousness of sin—be, in itself, better than all acting in the ways of the world; yet, by itself, it cannot effect any reform; and if it finds no relief, this feeling must either consume itself in despair, or be blunted into indifference. To that point the Gentiles had come; they had gone through the whole course of acting in the ways of the world, and they were now obliged to admit, that the innermost feeling of their own and true nature had not been gratified. At this period, their distress had reached its highest point; and the man of Macedonia appeared to Paul with the prayer: "Come over and help us" (see Acts xvi. 9). It is true that in Israel, too, this feeling of inward want was not relieved, but a certain prospect of having it relieved was, at all events, opened up. It

was thus that it became possible that, when the full relief appeared, there was found in Israel an attentive crowd which received it into their innermost life, and thus formed the stock of a renewed human community. But scarcely had this new formation begun, when Israel, in its popular form, and as a whole, shut themselves up against this offered relief; and that newly established community of mankind stood without a national and territorial centre, and, hence, had, in a cosmical point of view, no existence. From that time, Israel is concluded under sin (see Gal. iii. 22; Rom. xi. 32), and will not attain salvation until, following the ways of the world, it be ground and crushed (see Lev. xxvi. 39). Thus St Paul stands forth as the normal representative of the Church of Christ expelled from all national and territorial relations,—as the lamp of the heavenly light of Christ which shines into the darkness of Jews and Gentiles, in opposition to Jews and Gentiles, and offers in the Gospel of Christ to all individuals the full and eternal relief which the consciousness of sin requires for every individual.

But how is it that faith in Christ produces relief for the distress of the conscience of single individuals on account of their sins? By faith in Christ, the single individual receives within himself the new beginning of mankind. Thereby, the self-submission of Jesus to the power of darkness and Satan acquires a concrete form for every single individual, inasmuch as this submission of Jesus is referred to the individual sins, by which every one has become a servant of that dark power. But Jesus is proclaimed as no more wrestling with the darkness, but as victorious over the darkness, beaming in the light. The appropriation of Jesus is thus, at the same time, the appropriation of the victory over the sins which, for the single individuals, are just the chains of that darkness. While thus, by the light of the Gospel, the spiritual eye is awakened from its sleep, and the faith of the heart receives Jesus, man is reminded of his sins; and his grief is deeper than all which he has ever felt regarding his servitude, because every former grief was suppressed either by despair or by indifference. But now, by the light of Christ, his own darkness is placed before his eyes, and his grief is sharpened by his spiritual knowledge. But the eye of faith beholds also the same sins as being overcome by the conqueror of

darkness and Satan; and thus, He who has wounded him most deeply is, at the same time, He who heals him most thoroughly. The single individual who thus, by faith in Jesus, appropriates to himself, in his Saviour, the victory over his own sins, is freed from them, and has received the remission of sins (ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν). It is only on this result of faith in Christ that the possibility rests for faith, to attain to an assurance of itself. For, by the context of the discourse under consideration, the self-assurance of our faith is distinctly pointed out to us. The Lord, whom faith receives as its object, appears from heaven, and, hence, raised above all earthly relations; and the messenger of this faith is Paul, who needs to be protected from Jews as well as from Gentiles, and hence stands in opposition to all nationalities. It is thus evident that, in this territory, any leaning to an authority, or any proof by a witness, is inadmissible. But, by the reference to the remission of sins, there is indeed such an assurance given to faith as has nowhere its equal. The recollection of one's own sins is the real centre of all self-consciousness; inasmuch as every one has the surest and most individual expression of his own nature and will in his sins. But the clear conciousness of one's own sins is, farther, the knowledge of one's deepest distress, and of one's being given over to the hostile power. If, then, by the remission of sins in Christ, the fullest relief and deliverance are granted to this keenest and most painful consciousness of self, the certainty is thereby imparted to the innermost conciousness of the individual that Jesus is truly the new beginning of the life of mankind; and receiving, by faith, communion with Him, the sinner is freed from the contradiction and the torment of his own past life, without prejudice to the continuity of his history, and to the integrity of his individuality. Thus he who thirsteth needs no other proof of the essence and vital power of water, but that which is given by tasting the water itself.

As soon, then, as man, by receiving Christ in faith, is, in accordance with original Divine arrangements, freed from his sinful past, he, by means of the same faith, is also freed from his miserable future, and receives a blessed one. This consequence also of faith St Paul points out and designates, in close connexion with the circle of thoughts here exhibited. For the positive

consequence of faith is designated as the receiving of an inheritance among them which are sanctified (ver. 18). The word κλῆρος here too refers to the relation of the twelve tribes of Israel to the land of Canaan (see i. 36, 37). The land of Canaan was in the hands of the Amorites who, from of old, served idols, and indulged in sin (see Gen. xv. 16). But since Abraham walked by faith, the possession of this land was promised to him and to his seed; and after the tribes of Israel had been sanctified by the law and obedience, this land was, by the lot of Jehovah (κλῆρος), appointed and given over to them for a possession. But, inasmuch as this possession has, in its first realization, not proved itself an everlasting possession,—as it had been originally designated (see Gen. xiii. 15)—this grant of the promised land can be considered as a provisional one only, which will find its fulfilment and completion only in the future. That it is just this fulfilment which we are to think of here, Paul clearly enough intimates by his transferring, without any farther explanation, the words λαβεῖν κλῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις, from the past to the future.

Man, who is called to overcome Satan, and, thereby, to cast him out of his territory of the earthly sphere, in order that he himself may then take the place of the Adversary, has succumbed to the snares of the wicked one, and stands, therefore, with all his share in the earth and its blessings, under the power of the Prince of this World. This is seen from the fact that man is, at last, cast out of all his possessions by death, over which the devil has the power (see Heb. ii. 14, 15). For it is thus that it becomes manifest that all man's share in all blessings was apparent only; and, farther, in so far as man, in consequence of the original fall, has been deceiving himself, and has regarded and enjoyed the blessings of the earth as his essential and everlasting portion, every such possession and enjoyment of any portion of earthly blessings and gifts, injures his immortal soul, which, when cast out of this possession, will be compelled to suffer want in the same degree as it has possessed and enjoyed. But, since no one is able to oppose a counterpoise to that original deed of mankind, every one, with his share in the good things of this earth, is liable to this pernicious delusion, and this fatal misconception. But the Son of Man, who resisted the devil, and,

thereby, judged him, has fulfilled the task originally imposed upon man; and, therefore, all power in heaven and earth has been given to Him (see Matt. xxviii. 18), and He has become the legitimate and eternal Heir and Lord of the whole world (see Rev. xi. 15). It is in this connection that the poverty of Christ (see 2 Cor. viii. 9) appears in its true light. The Son of Man had not where to lay His head. (see Matt. viii. 20); His paternal field near Bethlehem had long ago passed into strange hands; and His time and strength having been fully taken up by His office, He was unable to carry on any trade. Teaching does not, according to the law and customs of the Jews, furnish a livelihood; and the teaching of Jesus could do so least of all, inasmuch as it gained the love of those only who are of the truth, and ever and anon appeared strange even to them. Thus Jesus did not make use of any means which lie within the cosmic sphere, in order to support himself; and yet, as head of a family, He had a care for His whole house. Hence, as regarded both His own wants, and those of His house, He was cast on His Father's goodness; and these were satisfied, not after the ways of the world, but by serving, and by bestowing love. By His having thus in a poverty so entirely self-denying stood against a world, and by having done so without losing His joy for a moment, He has incontrovertibly acquired the right to the possession of the whole earth, which was given as a property to man. It thus at once becomes evident, that union to Christ by faith must be accompanied with an installation into the inheritance of the earth and its good things; and, farther, that this installation into the inheritance of the earth implies a fulfilment and perfecting of that which, by way of type and preparation, was contained in the taking possession of the land of Canaan, which had previously been given to a strange power. By the words ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις, however, St Paul has intimated that this installation into the inheritance is not to take place immediately, any more than it did in the typical history. It is true that by ἡγιασμένος he also may be designated who has merely received forgiveness of sins (see Harless, zum Br. an die Ephes. S. 501, 502); but the connexion in which the word appears here undeniably suggests the state of perfection to which, according to the *usus loquendi* of Scripture, the κληρονομία belongs. We shall, accordingly, be

allowed to understand the word ἡγιασμένος only in this sense of perfection; but, in that case, it designates him who has been delivered from all and every communion with the impurity and darkness of this earth (see John x. 36; xvii. 19). This deliverance, however, can of course take place only at death; for it is death alone that severs the tie which connects man with the kingdom of darkness and of Satan. The matter accordingly stands thus:—that faith has, for the present, to expect remission of sins only, and the eternal inheritance only after this life. Just, therefore, as faith possesses that which it has, and as far as it has it, only in so far as it receives Christ, so this present and future position of the believer also stands in the closest connexion with the position of the Lord. The Lord has, it is true, overcome the Adversary, and has made a show of all his host, triumphing over them (Col. ii. 15); He has not, however, taken possession of the kingdom of the Adversary, but has withdrawn into heaven, and contented himself with the communion of God, His Father, until His time shall come for taking possession of His inheritance, and dividing it among His people. In a similar manner, he also who, by faith, is united to the Lord, shall, meanwhile, not seek his happiness on the earth, but be satisfied with communion with his heavenly Father, to whose heart he, by the remission of sins, has always a free and open access. It is true that, as long as he lives on earth, he requires and receives his share of the earth and its good things; but he must never forget that, with his body and all outward blessings, he stands under the power of darkness and Satan. For this reason, he should have as though he had not, and enjoy as though he enjoyed not (1 Cor. vii. 29, 31); and this position in the world is his sanctification, which is the will of God (see Heb. xii. 14), and which is perfected when man overcomes death by his actually esteeming the forgiveness of sins, by which alone he even in death, remains united to God, of higher value than any thing which he has, or expects from the earth. In this manner, the state of being sanctified which, in Israel, existed as to its beginning only, is brought to its perfection. For, whereas the deficiency of Israel's sanctification was proved just by the fact, that Israel, in possession of their inheritance, became proud, and in the gifts of the earth, forgot their Maker and Redeemer (see Deut. xxxii. 15); the New Testament saints are not introduced

into the possession of their inheritance, until they have proved, by deeds, that they prefer the pure and holy communion of the soul with God, without any external, corporeal addition, to all and every possession on earth, and thereby accomplish the total deliverance of their souls from the entire kingdom of darkness and of Satan.

When, now, we look back to the whole depth and breadth which the words of the Lord comprehend, and when we consider that, for the carrying on, and building up of this His kingdom, which comprehends Jews and Gentiles, He called St Paul:—we see quite clearly that He commits to His chosen instrument, St Paul, the execution and realization of all which, from the time of His appearance, He intended in His kingdom. For, indeed, everything which is contained in the counsel of the Lord for the salvation of mankind is implied in that which is here pointed out in the way of intention and aim. Just as, formerly, the Lord had committed his work, viz., the foundation and preservation of the Church, to St Peter and to the eleven besides (see Matt. xvi. 13—20); so, after St Peter and the rest of the original Apostles had accomplished their work, by which the first foundation of the Church was laid, He here lays on the shoulders of St Paul alone, the work of His salvation for the nations of the earth. We find, in this fact, another confirmation of that view of the Apostolic time, as far as it is treated of in our Book, a view which alone is sound and to the purpose, viz., that as, for the first age of the Church, St Peter appears to be placed at the head for her direction and development; so, for the immediately subsequent period, St Paul is introduced as being exclusively intrusted with the guidance and extension of the Church. And this comprehensive and important position of St Paul for the whole of the work of salvation is proved, indeed, by the farther history of the Church also. For the greatest epoch which, ever since the times of the Apostles, the Church has gone through, viz., the time of the Reformation, is just that epoch in which the light of St Paul's testimony, which had been so much covered and darkened, was put on the candlestick more prominently than it had ever before been. And, with respect to the present confusion and obstacles, it is evident that we shall not be able to take any firm steps until we have again allowed ourselves to be inwardly illuminated by

this light shining into the night of the Gentiles and nations, in order that then we may recognize and comprehend what still remained hidden, even to the time of the Reformation.

As a matter of course, St Paul does not now think it necessary to describe, or even to allude, before Agrippa and his companions, to the inward struggle which arose in him in consequence of this heavenly appearance. He merely states the manifest results of these mysterious events, viz., that in obedient compliance with the heavenly command, he preached, first to the Jews, that they should repent and turn to God (ver. 20). It may appear strange that St Paul should here speak of his preaching to the whole land of Judea; whereas even his preaching at Damascus and Jerusalem was only a preparation for the commencement of his real Apostolic ministry. Another circumstance, equally strange, seems to be connected with this mention of his testimony before Jews, viz., that St Paul does not here, as he does elsewhere, speak of faith as the sum of his discourse, but the turning to God, and, in harmony with this, the evidence of works (ver. 20). It has not escaped the ingenuity of Zeller, that "this turn reminds much more of the Baptist's preaching of repentance (see Matt. iii. 8), or of the discourses of Peter (see iii. 19, 26) than of Paul's doctrine of faith, and the regeneration of the inner man" (see Theolog. Jahrb. 1849, 580). But a close consideration of the time and circumstances under which St Paul delivered this discourse will make it evident that we need, notwithstanding, have no doubt of its authenticity. St Paul has, at this time, come to Jerusalem as the bearer of the last offer of God's mercy to Israel, and he has indeed succeeded in proving himself to be the servant of God, by word and deed, in presence of the whole people who had come together out of the whole country for the celebration of the feast. We know, moreover, that St Paul considers this, his ministry for Israel, as the highest and the most important part of his whole ministry (see Rom. xi. 13, 14). It may thus be explained why St Paul, when looking back upon this his last ministry in Jerusalem, brings the circumstance of his having preached before the Jews so prominently forward, while, for the reason mentioned, the preaching before the Gentiles has been put into the background. It may be owing to the great importance attached by St Paul to his preaching before the Jews, that he does not point

out the small beginnings of his ministry only, but designates his appearance even at single places of the Jewish land, as at Cesarea (see xxi. 8—14) and Ptolemais (see xxi. 7), and especially his last appearance on the Temple-hill before the multitude who were celebrating their feast, as a witness to the whole land of Judea. Now, should not this his view of his last testimony to Israel account also for the form in which St Paul expresses himself regarding the theme of his preaching? The final object of all God's work of salvation, and of all preaching, is surely this:—that the inner, hidden, Divine life be shown by godly works. But this holds especially true of Israel which received from God a rule of life for all its special and general manifestations. Now, since, in the words which he spoke on the subject of his calling, St Paul has expressed himself with sufficient distinctness regarding the hidden foundation of the Divine life, why should he be prevented from thus characterizing his last discourse to Israel, in which all his activity for Jews and Gentiles is comprehended, and from thus designating it according to its ultimate aim? This could not fail to be so much the more natural to him, that we have seen it to be a matter of necessity for his own life that, from the hidden ground of faith, he should, at this time, publicly exhibit his agreement with the law, by works in conformity with the law.

It is just when—as we have before assumed—St Paul considers and represents, in the light of his recent conduct, his Apostolic ministry, into which he had entered in consequence of the appearance from heaven, that it is easily explained why, at the close of his discourse (ver. 21, 22), he once more reverts to the ill treatment and accusations of the Jews; for it was just by his recent conduct at Jerusalem that this ill treatment and accusation had been last occasioned, and in that form which was now under discussion, and waiting for decision. St Paul does not neglect to point out how much the Jews offended him by their hostile proceedings against him under such circumstances. For, since the words ἕνεκα τούτων (ver. 21) refer to St Paul's last declaration regarding his conduct before Jews and Gentiles, he thus directs attention to the fact that the Jews did, in a hostile manner, proceed not only against that which St Paul had done, as commissioned by a revelation from heaven, but also against that which, in harmony with their holy law, had been done

towards themselves. And, at the same time, St Paul does not omit to point to the well known and undeniable fact, that it was just in the temple that he, the pretended apostate, had been seized by the Jews, and abused almost to death (ver. 21); and thus to impress it anew upon his hearers how evidently the conduct of the Jews against him was self-contradictory.

And, in closing, St Paul seizes the opportunity once more to direct the attention of the king and his company to the internal and unchangeable agreement of his whole doctrine with true and essential Judaism (ver. 22, 23), and, in so doing, to attempt, once more, to remove the chief offence which now lay in his way. And it is evident that it is only such a proof and declaration which set the seal of credibility upon his detailed account of the appearance of the Lord. For the more the Apostle must have been desirous of an attestation to that purely individual, and substantially internal fact, the more important it was for him to be able to appeal to the consequences of such a miraculous event and influence. For, if that consequence be a realization of true, essential Judaism, that revelation also must stand in an internal and necessary connexion with the history of Divine revelation; and that heavenly appearance can be nothing else than what St Paul declares it to be, viz., the manifestation of the Lord from heaven.

We cannot wonder at seeing St Paul ascribe to the help of God his deliverance from the murderous hands of the Jews (ver. 22), inasmuch as we know that, on the one hand, he saw nothing but death before him within the human and worldly order; and, on the other hand, he had called upon the Churches to pray for his preservation in Jerusalem. And it is just when he viewed in this light his preservation by the interference of the Roman Tribune, that we conceive how he could date from that moment a new period of his Apostolic testimony. For when he expresses himself, regarding the time from his deliverance up to this day, in the words: ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἕστηκα μαρτυρόμενος,[1] he does not describe so much a captivity, as rather a state of Apostolic activity. It is true that, at first sight, it does not appear as if St

[1] This reading, which is approved of by far the greatest number of ancient authorities, must, no doubt, be retained against the reading μαρτυρούμενος and its explanation, although Meyer approves of it.

Paul intended to assert, in reference to this period of his activity, —a time added to his Apostolic ministry by the grace of the Lord and the prayers of the Churches—anything peculiar which did not apply in the same degree to his former ministry. For, what he says as to the direction of his testimony,—both to small and great—as well as his declaration as to the subject of it,—the agreement with Moses and the prophets—is evidently true and valid of any period of his Apostolic ministry. For the direction of St Paul's testimony to individuals evidently lies, from the beginning, in the nature of his Apostolic office, which was founded when the national form of susceptibility for the kingdom of God had been destroyed by the unbelief of Israel. We therefore find, even before this, that St Paul points out his testimony to individuals as a peculiarity of his ministry (see xx. 31). But it is just when we become conscious of the general reason of this individual direction of the Paulinic testimony, that it will become evident to us that this direction could not fail to be strengthened by what the Apostle had, of late, experienced at Jerusalem. For the callousness and obduracy of all Israel, in its head and members, against the Gospel of Christ, had never yet become manifest to such a degree as during the last stay of the Apostle at Jerusalem; and this extreme wickedness and hostility of the Jewish community was, in the first instance, directed chiefly against the person of the Apostle. It could not be otherwise than that this personal experience of the unfathomable corruption of the whole Jewish organism should still more confirm and strengthen him in his tendency to address his testimony to individuals, as such. And is not such a comparison really expressed in the words: μικρῷ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ? For, in the *first* place, the contrast of great and little belongs to the individual sphere, and the reference to nationality is altogether excluded by this designation; *secondly*—The Singular serves to point out the importance of the individual; *thirdly*—The precedence of the "little" shews that differences are here of no consequence whatsoever, but that the individuality only, which belongs to the little as well as to the great, comes into consideration (see Rev. xi. 18; xiii. 16; xix. 5, 18; xx. 12; comp. Ps. cxv. 13); *finally* —This too must not be overlooked, that the "great" is not excluded; for, from it, it appears that although, in this context,

the great are not brought forward and distinguished on account of their greatness,—as is the case in all other relations—yet neither are they excluded, inasmuch as, besides their greatness they possess an individuality as well as the little. We have every reason to conceive of this strong and emphatic expression of his reference to single individuals, as being connected with what the Apostle had lately experienced in Jerusalem; and, indeed, a similar expression as to his call for every individual of mankind (see Col. i. 28) likewise belongs to the later period of his ministry.

This statement regarding the individual direction of his testimony does not, indeed, in itself contain any apologetic element; but it receives such an apologetic significance, as soon as it is taken together with the confession respecting the subject of his testimony, which, indeed, is closely connected with that statement. For, inasmuch as St Paul emphatically declares that his testimony agrees with Moses and the prophets, it is implied in that declaration, that he is anxious to bring the contents of the Old Testament writings into all the spheres of mankind in that form which alone is possible, after the nationalities have come under the sway of a foreign power. But, since it is, farther, a characteristic feature of the Jewish conviction, that the Old Testament word is to penetrate to all the families of the earth, Paul's confession cannot fail to make an impression upon every unprejudiced Jewish mind; for we saw that, in this context, everything depends upon St Paul's asserting the harmony of his testimony with the word of Moses and the prophets.

And, indeed, St Paul declares this agreement between his Apostolic testimony and the word of the Old Testament, to an extent far beyond what men are accustomed to suppose, and as we nowhere else find it expressed; so that, in this respect, we here indeed meet with something peculiar, and, as we shall see, peculiar to this period. It is true that, by the word λέγων, nothing else, evidently, is added but a statement regarding the contents of the testimony (μαρτυρόμενος), and not, by any means, a statement regarding the doctrine connected with the testimony. For, from the relative clause: ὧν τε οἱ προφῆται ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων γίνεσθαι, we plainly see that it is facts which we have to conceive of as the object of λέγων, a supplement which is con-

tained, as a matter of course, in the expression: "witnessing." There seems then, accordingly, to be nothing declared here, but the general and simple truth that the evangelical testimony agrees with the prophetic message. If, then, even the farther explanation in ver. 23 be viewed, as is usually done, in no other light than as containing the statement of the two points in which this agreement is seen, we should have here altogether the same simple confession which Paul makes before the Church at Corinth:—that he had proclaimed Christ's death and resurrection—two things which had been prophecied in Scripture (1 Cor. xv. 3, 4). Interpreters by thus, with this view, falling back upon a very prevalent notion, imagine that with it they may keep themselves completely at ease. Now, if the relation between Old Testament prophecy and New Testament proclamation were really recognized in its original and Scriptural nature and form, one might, after all, receive this generalizing view of the passages under consideration; at least, nothing essential would be neglected. But, now that this relation is viewed in a manner so arbitrary and perplexing, it must be considered as a favourable circumstance, that the whole aspect of our passage stands in the way of such a generalisation, and does not allow a careful exegesis to be satisfied with those traditionary expressions and notions. In the first place, there is, even in the very words, *οὐδὲν ἐκτὸς λέγων . ὧν*, such an exclusiveness contained, and so distinctly expressed, that it will not do to say, that there is upon the whole, and in the main, an agreement between the Old Testament prophecy and evangelical history. To this it must be added, that, as the whole tenor of his discourse shows, Paul is fully conscious of his apologetic purpose. But, in that case, he could not but know that, having to do with Jews, he must weigh his words. Now, since he here evidently consents to have the title of his evangelical testimony tried by its agreement with the predictions of Moses and the prophets, and, on this point, asserts that this agreement is thorough, and without exception, we shall be compelled to receive and consider this confession in this light. But, in this case, we at once perceive that this agreement must be something else than what is commonly understood thereby; namely, that a certain series of facts,—such as the descent of Jesus from Abraham by the progeny of Judah, —His

birth by the virgin in the small town of Bethlehem,—His origin from the house of David, and His ignominious sufferings—are prophecied, by which, as sure signs, we may understand that He is the promised One (see Hengstenberg, Christology I. i. S. 25, 1st ed.; Keith, Evidence of Prophecy). For, in the first place, no one will be able to maintain that, in Paul's proclamation of the Gospel, there is no circumstance, from the history of the Lord, advanced which could not be shown to be included among the single signs of the Messiah pointed out by Old Testament prophecy: Thus, *e.g.* it cannot be questioned that Paul, as well as Peter, has taught the descensus ad inferos; and, notwithstanding all the objections of Harless, it is certain that the great majority of ancient and modern interpreters have rightly found this doctrine in the passage of Paul (Ephes. iv. 9). But not one of those who, in the way indicated, would prove the agreement between the Old Testament prophecy and New Testament history, has been able to show that this evangelical fact is comprehended in the series of these prophetic signs of the Messiah. But, moreover, we cannot at all see how Paul could have ventured to bring forward, in so general and exclusive a way, his assertion of the agreement of his evangelical testimony with the word of the Old Testament prophecy, unless he had proceeded upon a view which comprehended the whole in both of these territories,—the Old Testament and the New—and unless he had distinctly supposed that these two territories stand in a thorough and entire communion, and that for this, and for no other reason, the agreement must be undoubted, even in all the particulars. For the Old Testament territory is, above all, a historical one, and the Books of Chronicles show, most simply and evidently, that, in this respect, it represents a complete and connected whole. For the historical line from the first man to King Cyrus is, in these Books, carried through in such a way that the period of David and Solomon represents itself as the centre and summit of the whole development, from which the commencing and closing point are to be seen and understood. Just as in these Books the history of Israel is contained, from its first beginnings to its preliminary close, so the Apostolic testimony comprehends likewise the history of Jesus from its first beginnings to its preliminary close. Should St Paul, now, have understood his comparison in the same sense,

namely, that he conceives of the history of Israel as being, in the main, as well as in the details, a fully corresponding prophetic representation of the history of Jesus; and that then, founding upon this conviction, he expresses the assertion that, in his apostolic witness of Jesus, he received absolutely nothing which was not contained in that history of Israel? That this parallel between the history of Israel and the history of Jesus is intimated in the New Testament, appears undeniably from the passage, Matt. ii. 15, where Matthew ascribes to Jesus a statement which the prophet had evidently made with a reference to Israel; and, farther, from the history of the temptation of Jesus, which has plainly been represented as a complete repetition of the temptation and struggles of Israel in the wilderness, not only by the statement of dates and places, but also by borrowing, from the section of Israel's wanderings in the wilderness, all the significant Scripture passages which are quoted. But St Paul does not speak so much of the Old Testament history of Israel, as of the predictions of Moses and the prophets; and this is just the mistake which is so perplexing and pernicious, viz., that men have attempted so generally and completely to dissever the word of prophecy in the Old Testament from the history of Israel. We know from the historical books, that, from the very outset, the prophets paid particular attention to the history of Israel (see 1 Chron. xxix. 29; 2 Chron. ix. 29; xii. 15; xiii. 22; xx. 34; xxvi. 22; xxxii. 32; xxxiii. 18); and we see, from the prophetical books themselves, that, in regard to all the more important discourses, the authors do not neglect to communicate, more or less minutely, the historical circumstances and conditions by which they were called forth. From this, we may infer that every prophetic word is nothing else, and pretends to be nothing else, than the light thrown by the Spirit of God on that element of the Future which was contained in the present history of Israel. The good success which has accompanied the exposition, on this principle, of the prophetic word, entitles us confidently to expect that the more firmly and simply that this principle is adopted by exegesis, the more certain and sound will the exposition be; and that, hence, the understanding of the prophetic word will furnish the most complete confirmation of this assertion of an internal and essential connexion between prophecy and history, in the Old Testament

territory. The completeness and the congruity of the Old Testament word of prophecy pervading the whole New Testament testimony, which are here explicitly asserted by St Paul, would thus, in the last instance, rest, after all, again on the completeness and exactness of that historical parallelism. And it is in this way that we obtain the most likely and easy transition from Moses to the prophets, which St Paul here presupposes in his statement regarding the word of prophecy. For if prophecy be dissevered from history, we can scarcely say what we are to think, when we find the predictions of Moses by the side of those of the prophets. For while, according to this view, the writings of the prophets contain nothing but predictions of the Future, detached from the Present; in the Books of Moses, the word which refers to the Future is altogether a vanishing element. But when, on the other hand, the discourses of the prophets also rest essentially on historical events and conditions; and when thus the prophetic element in these discourses is, in the first instance and originally, contained in the history of Israel:—then we at once understand that the writings of Moses are in this respect of an equal character. For although, substantially, Moses does not describe any thing else but the first beginnings of the history of Israel, and the ordinances and laws for its development; yet this history of the beginning will, of course, as much represent the Future as the farther continuation and preliminary close in the same series of development. It is indeed very obvious that, according to the nature of all beginnings, the history of the beginning will render more clearly and distinctly apparent the true nature of Israel than will any later period; that hence the prophetic element in Israel will, in the beginning, come out more distinctly than at any future period; and from this circumstance we at once see why, in order to represent the Future, a simple report was chiefly required in the beginning; but we also see why, in proportion to the advancement, there was the greater need of the prophetic interpretation and exposition of the present and past. But do we, by such suppositions, assert anything improbable and untenable? Has not the Apostle Paul himself, as may be proved, read and explained these very accounts in the writings of Moses, with such a view to the future events of the New Testament? Is not Moses, to him, the type of the New Testament Mediator (see

Gal. iii. 19), and the glory of his office the weak beginning of the perfect glory of the New Testament office (see 2 Cor. iii 7—18)? Are not, to him, the beginnings of the people of Israel the types and ensamples for the New Testament beginnings (see 1 Cor. x. 1—11)? Yea, is not Adam, to him, the type of Christ, the second beginning of mankind (see Rom. v. 14; 1 Cor. xv. 45)? Finally—Does not St Paul view, in such a light, even the law and ordinances of Moses for Israel as if they were intended for the New Testament Future, far more than for the Old Testament Present (see 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10; Col. ii. 17)? But this connexion of Moses and the prophets, which is declared in this passage, is rendered still more obvious, if we keep in mind that, according to the declaration of the New Testament, it is not only the predictions of the prophets, but also the accounts in the historical books, which arose under the influence of the Holy Spirit; and, especially when, in addition to this, we consider what applications of this supposition have been made, more than once, by the Apostle Paul, and just in reference to the historical books.

We know that St Paul assigns, to the Old Testament historical account, a foresight of the Future (*προϊδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γραφή*; Gal. iii. 8); and that, in order to prove his assertion, he quotes the Mosaic account in such a manner, that, not only in the matter, but even in the single modifications of the form, he discovers and points out intimations of, and rules for, his doctrinal statements (see Rom. iv. 9, 17; 2 Cor. iii. 7; Gal. iii. 16; iv. 25; comp. 1 Cor. xv. 27). But the reason of this can certainly be found only in the circumstance that, in the historical books of the Old Testament, he recognizes the same Spirit of prophecy who, in the writings of the prophets, announces the Future. If then the spirit of prophetism be the moving and directing soul of the historical books of the Old Testament, and, especially, of those of Moses, then their essential contents also must be the testimony of Jesus (comp. Rev. xix. 10), and, hence, just that which Paul here supposes, by connecting Moses with the Prophets. If thus we must acknowledge the prophetic contents of the Old Testament to consist, not so much of a series of predictions which appear dissevered, as much as possible, from their historical connexion, as, rather and chiefly, of the whole and the details of history, as it has been comprehended and handed down

by the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament writings; then also it is most simply explained how Paul could so emphatically maintain that all which is written referred, in the highest sense, to the Church of Christ (see Rom. xv. 4; 1 Cor. ix. 10; x. 11; comp. Acts xxiv. 14). For when we proceed upon the supposition that all the relations between the Old and the New Testament rest, substantially, on the actual connection between Israel and Jesus, we may distinguish a *real* and an *ideal* sphere in the history of Israel. By the former, we understand that which is commonly called History, in the restricted sense. By the latter, we understand the sum and substance of thoughts arising under the actual historical conditions. We might call the real sphere also the outward history, and the ideal sphere the internal history; or the former, the history of facts, and the latter, the history of the Word. Now, as we have seen, the real sphere appears, by the Spirit of God, in the historical books of the Old Testament in such a form that, in a corresponding form, it makes manifest the Future, *i.e.*, the New Testament; and, for this reason, everything in the real sphere of Israel which does no tcontain any element of this Future is allowed to sink, in the Old Testament narrative, while all the elements of history which refer to the Future are represented just in such a way as, in future, they are themselves to appear, and to be present. As regards, therefore, those Old Testament writings, which have delivered to us the ideal sphere of Israel, viz., the poetical and prophetical books,—of which it is certain that they were written under the influence of the same Spirit,—we must suppose the same, viz., that on this territory also, that only of the sum and substance of the thoughts of Israel has been handed down to us which contains an element of the Future; and that, too, just in the form and manner which exactly correspond to that Future. It is only when the writings of the Old Testament have such a historical foundation, and such a Divine origin, that there is any meaning in the assertion, that everything which, in the Old Testament books, is great and small, —that all which has been said, as well as all which has been passed over in silence, attains its fulfilment only in the Church of Christ.

When this assertion :—that the whole of Old Testament Scripture has in view, and refers to the New Testament Church,—an assertion which is, with special emphasis, made by Paul,—is thus

reduced to this comprehensive view of the history of Israel, we shall obtain this advantage, that we can understand and comprehend the reverse of this assertion also, with which we have here to do. For if St Paul here maintains that he does not teach any thing but what Moses and the Prophets had taught, this is the supplement to that other declaration which he uttered in the presence of Felix, that he believed in all the things which were written in the Law and the Prophets (see xxiv. 14). But if this latter assertion must, as we have seen, be referred, substantially, to the historical connexion between Israel and Jesus, then the former is a consequence of the latter assertion; for if there be a historical connexion between Israel and Jesus, nothing essential can appear in the history of Jesus, which would not be contained in the previous history of Israel; and, on the other hand, in the same degree as any thing is essential in the history of Jesus, the same must appear in the history of Israel also. It is true, indeed, that the real course and state of things remain, in Israel also, liable to the fate of all things earthly and temporary; so that essence and form correspond, only very imperfectly, to each other. But, to compensate for this, we have in this territory the work of the eternal Spirit, the writings of Moses and the Prophets, which allowed every thing to sink which, in its appearance, did not correspond to the essence, and represent the perfect appearance of the eternal essence only. If, then, Paul writes to the Corinthians: "Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples, and they are written for our admonition upon whom the ends of the world are come" (see 1 Cor. x. 11), he, no doubt, understands this to mean, that we stand in need of so powerful an admonition and so comprehensive an instruction, just because upon us there rests the completion of all that which, in the course of the world, was begun and entered upon. But this may evidently be understood thus also:—that we are allowed to say that, in the New Testament time, which is the time of completion and fulfilment, there is nothing which had not been prepared in the times of the beginning and introduction, and of which the authentic account is given in the books of Moses and the Prophets. If, now, we comprehend in one the two assertions of the Apostle, we arrive at the proposition that the relation between the Old and the New Testament is so thorough and comprehen-

sive that there is nothing in the Old Testament which is not in the New also; and that there is nothing in the New Testament which the Old Testament also does not contain.

Now, it might be imagined that, by our last proposition, we had declared in favor of the former identification of the two Testaments, and would take no notice of the ancient and modern attempts which have been made to distinguish them. That, however, is, by no means, our opinion; but meanwhile, we only draw this inference from our passage:—that St Paul does not acknowledge any outward right by which people imagine themselves at liberty to take anything—be it little or much—from the Old Testament contents, as not having an eternal authority, and would claim, within the New Testament territory, a portion by no means inconsiderable, as absolutely new. It will, however, be seen from an exposition of ver. 23, which continues the thought, that this is only one aspect of the matter, and that, besides this thorough, mutual reference and connexion between the two Testaments, a distinction, as thorough, is acknowledged and maintained by St Paul.

The Apostolic testimony of Jesus, on account of which St Paul has here to defend himself against the accusations of the Jews, comprehends, chiefly, two facts, His death, and His resurrection (comp. 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4). St Paul, by bringing these facts prominently into view, is anxious farther to confirm, by the Old Testament designation of them, the truth of his assertion as regards the agreement of his testimony with the prophetical word of the Old Testament. Now, if the Apostle maintained the identity of the two Testaments, he would here have chosen such an expression as would have declared the reference of the Old Testament prophecy to the New Testament facts in as historical a form as possible, in order that, if possible, no other difference between the Old Testament prophecy and the New Testament history, but that of time, should come out. But we at once see that St Paul, when about to express himself more in detail, on the relation of his testimony to the predictions of Moses and the Prophets, directs his thoughts not so much to the territory of facts, as to the correctness and truth of the view of these facts. This turn of the discourse is sufficiently indicated by his premising twice the particle εἰ. For the problematical εἰ which, of course,

(as, in opposition to a false interpretation, has been correctly remarked by Meyer) is quite different from the thetic ὅτι, intimates from the very outset that St Paul acknowledges, in the Old Testament word of prophecy, the determining rule for his Apostolic preaching. From the first clause, which is expressed problematically: εἰ παθητὸς ὁ Χριστός, it most clearly appears to what this normal significance of the Old Testament prophecy refers. De Wette makes, on the expression ὁ Χριστός, the remark: "The Messiah, not as a historical concrete, but as an idea;" and the negative part of this sentence is not only correct, but also quite pertinent; but the positive part is too indistinctly expressed. For, according to the Old Testament Scriptures, the anointed is not so much an idea, as a human person. This his person is not, indeed, always brought into view in a manner which anticipates history,—as is often assumed by a false interpretation of prophecy; but it appears, after all, firmly and distinctly expressed within the human and popular sphere. For the anointed is, in the first place, the purest in Israel (see Lev. iv. 3—5, 16; vi. 15), who, by means of the holy anointing oil, has been made fit for his office (see Exod. xxix. 7; Lev. viii. 12). But then we must remember that, originally, the priestly office belonged to the whole people of Israel (comp. Exod. xix. 6); and, hence, if this office be transferred to a single individual out of the people, this must be so conceived of, as that the priestly dignity of the whole people is comprehended in that one. It appears, in the farther course of history, that the anointed priest is not able to perform the work committed to him. The sin of Eli calls forth the sentence of rejection upon the Aaronic Priesthood (see 1 Sam. ii. 27—36). But, since the work which Jehovah has to do on earth must, nevertheless, be done, it is connected with another office. It passes over from the priesthood to the royal dignity; and the anointing has, at this time, its principal significance and power in the bearer of the royal dignity; for which reason, from the moment of the rejection of the Aaronic Priesthood, the anointed is no more the priest, but the king (see 1 Sam. ii. 10—35; Ps. ii. 2; comp. 1 Sam. x. and xvi.). But since the whole of the people have a royal position and dignity also (see Deut. xxviii. 13), the relation of the king to the people of Israel is similar to that of the priest to the people. But even the royal anointing could not, for any length of time,

resist the deeply-rooted corruption of Israel's nature. The eternity of the Davidic royal dignity was bound to the condition of obedience (see 2 Sam. vii. 14; 1 Chron. xxviii. 7—9; Ps. cxxxii. 11, 12). But this condition of obedience has so little been observed, that sacred history itself has not omitted to mention at least one sin even of all those successors of David to whom it has given a testimony of praise; so that, at length, the Divine sentence of rejection was pronounced upon the progeny of David (see Jer xxii. 24—30),—a prospect which had been placed before them even by David (see 1 Chron. xxviii. 9). But, even then, Jehovah does not give up His work upon earth; He creates a new office, to which He resolves to commit it, viz., the prophetic office. At the same moment that Ahaz the son of David cuts the last tie of connexion with Jehovah, Isaiah is brought upon the scene, and represents, with his house and disciples, the true Israel (Is. vii. 1 14; viii.). The priesthood has the sacrifice committed to them as the principal means of their office; the royal office has the sword; sacrifice and sword now, therefore, belong to the outward world. The means which the Divine office has now to apply must, therefore, be of an internal, spiritual nature. The prophetic office is the office of the word; with which spiritual power Moses had once laid the foundation of the Israelitish commonwealth. Farther—As the royal, so the priestly office was bound to lineal descent; but it has come out that there cannot be any security for the transmission of spiritual gifts and virtues in the way of carnal descent. For this reason, the prophetic office is not bound to descent; but the dignity of a prophet is independent of family; as, to every Israelite, in every tribe and place, it was permitted to take upon him the dignity of a Nazarite (comp. Amos ii. 11). Hence, now, a prophet is called out of the family of the priest (see Jer. i. 1), and, then, one from the flock who was neither a prophet by office, nor the son of a prophet (see Amos vii. 14, 15). With this more free and spiritual nature of the prophetic office is also connected the fact, that although we have here the same essence of the Divine office, as in the priestly and royal offices, yet the anointing, as the Divine consecration to the office, is commonly altogether dispensed with in the third stage of the development of the Divine office, and is mentioned as an exception only (see 1 Kings xix. 16; comp. Is. lxi. 1). We shall not of course be

at all induced by that circumstance to recognize, less, or not at all, the anointed in the prophet, especially since we know that He, to whom the name and nature of the anointed belong in an exclusive sense, had not His head moistened with the anointing oil. And we are the less entitled to entertain such an idea, that the term מָשִׁיחַ is, even in the Old Testament, used in the spiritual signification which it has in the New Testament (Ps. cv. 15). Can we now be astonished that, on this third stage of the office, the person of the anointed appears still more as at one with the whole of the people, than in the former two stages? Has not Israel been, from the beginning, called to be the teacher and prophet of the nations? Did not Israel stand on Sinai, and hear with their own ears the words of Jehovah, as the foundation of the whole law, in order that they might express and exhibit in their lives this Divine instruction, and by such a form, and such customs as were well pleasing to God, put all nations to shame, and lead them to the knowledge of the living God (see Deut. iv. 5—8)? But the less that the bearer of an office is bound to outward conditions, the more free and spiritual the means are with which he is called to act, the better will he be able to identify himself with, and to influence the community which he has to represent. Hence we find, in the prophet, the third representative of the anointed, and a more perfect one, in proportion as this stage raises itself above the outward limits of the former ones, and, therefore, not only comes nearer the essence of the Divine office within the weakness of the flesh, but is also able to make more distinctly apparent the original and essential position of the whole people towards the work of the Divine office.

This, then, is the territory on which the nature of the Anointed One has been formed and displayed; and if it be asked:—What corresponds to this nature, and what does not? we say, It is from this territory that it must be discovered. That which is Messianic can, for this reason, consist, least of all, in a series of single passages, detached as much as possible from their historical context and connexion; but, first and chiefly, in the history of the Divine office and of those who were entrusted with it. We now understand perfectly that it might be questioned whether the capability of suffering (παθητός), essentially belonged to the Anointed. For man, originally, is not destined for suffering,

but for acting; not for being subject to foreign power and influence, but for ruling; and although the ordinary man, being a sinner, has become unfaithful to this destination, and has, hence, become liable to a different fate, yet one would be inclined to think that the Anointed One—the man called and qualified for the work of God by the Holy Spirit—that the servant of Jehovah who had, above every thing else, the vocation of resuming the original destination and task of man, ought to have been elevated above the fate of suffering. It is, therefore, not merely unbelief on the part of the Jews, if they conceive of the Messiah chiefly in His glory, and in the exercise of His royal omnipotence; but, on the other hand, it is certainly a want of faith, if the other aspect of the Messiah be overlooked, inasmuch as that, too, is brought out in the Old Testament. For if we were allowed to conceive of the Anointed One by Himself, certainly the idea of His being at once invested with the original royal dignity of man would have been quite sufficient. But we have seen that the Messiah is, according to His whole nature, indissolubly connected with others,—in the first instance, with His people,—and must, therefore, never be isolated, and it is for the sake of this connexion that it is necessary for Him to be susceptible of suffering. For, the reason why the anointing comes, in the first instance, to the single individual is this:—that the community do not yet correspond with their own idea, and, hence, are still in a condition of imperfection and defect. On account of His essential connection with the people, it is thus necessary that the Messiah should take upon Himself, and bear, and suffer under the condition of imperfection and defect of the community. This appears most clearly from the history of Moses. Moses, it is true, is not anointed with oil; but he holds, in an eminent degree, the position of the Anointed. Moses is not only a prophet, as none else was in the whole Old Testament time (see Deut. xxxiv. 10; xviii. 15, 18); but he also performs the duties of the priestly office (see Exod. xxix. 20, comp. the Author's Theol. Comm. i. 2. 84); and it need only be mentioned that, with his staff, he leads and guides Israel in a royal manner. The want of the outward anointing in the case of Moses is, after all that has gone before, and as a matter of course, more than compensated by his extraordinary call, and more than extraordinary endowments. And it is just in the

history of this first and most comprehensive type of the Messiah, that we clearly perceive how necessary it is that He should be susceptible of suffering. For the office of Moses implies that he should bear the burden of the whole people as if he were the father or the mother of all Israel (see Numb. xi. 11, 12; comp. Deut. i. 12, 31); and although עָנָו Numb. xii. 3, does not signify, according to Luther's translation, that he was the most tormented of all men on earth; yet, it ascribes to him a disposition of mind which, in an incomparable manner, enables him to endure suffering, and, hence, a capability of suffering which is not equalled on earth. And we possess a proof of this incomparable capability of suffering in the declaration of Moses, in which he requests Jehovah to blot him out of His book, if Israel's sin could not be forgiven (see Exod. xxxii. 32). If, farther, we examine the single offices with respect to this capability of suffering, we find that the priest in his official garments is to bear the names of the twelve tribes upon his heart as he enters into the holy place (see Exod. xxviii. 29, 30),—which evidently can mean nothing else than that the priest is called to sympathise, with all his heart, in the real condition of the twelve tribes,—which is a condition of sin and distress. This duty of sympathy with, and compassion for the distress of the people must, of course, be strongest at that time, and on that occasion when the priest, in consequence of his office, —comes into the most significant and effectual contact with it, namely, when he offers sacrifices. For how may the priest hope to be able to offer up sacrifices for Israel, in a manner well pleasing to the Lord, unless he has, with the whole earnest and full love of his soul, realized the separation which sin, every where and always, makes between Jehovah and Israel? And, farther, the history of King David is a sufficient proof that the king is as little permitted to withdraw himself from this communion of sympathy with the people. For that which distinguishes the royal office of David in Israel is that here the royal throne is not an isolated elevation, the splendour and glory of which is reflected by the surrounding lowliness; but that this royal elevation essentially serves the purpose of spreading, even to the most distant and remote spheres of the popular life, the power of plain and simple sense (see 2 Sam. vi. 21, 22; Ps. cxxxi), and

the power of impartial justice and pure wisdom (see Ps. xlv. 5, 8; lxxii. 12, 13; li. 15), and of thereby influencing them. It is for the sake of this internal, essential communion, in which the royal office in Israel stands with all the portions of the entire popular life, and pre-eminently with those most lowly and destitute (see Ps. xlv. 5; lxxii. 12—14), that the suffering, both outward and inward, which, in the history of David, comes out so significantly and powerfully (comp. Ps. cxxxi. 1), must be regarded as one which is essentially connected with, and belongs to this royal office; and that, hence, the Anointed One of Israel must be regarded as a person who, from his very office, must be capable of suffering. But what shall we still say of the prophet, of whom we know that he must oppose the most corrupt period of Israel, and that, too, without any external help and support, endowed with only the spiritual power of the word. Could we conceive of the prophet in his vocation in any other way than as endowed with the most perfect willingness and capability of submitting to all the injustice and wickedness of his people, and of bearing this weight of suffering? This is confirmed also by the detailed accounts which have been handed down to us of the life and ministry of two prophets,—Elijah and Jeremiah. We are minutely told how one of these two withstood the flood of corruption in the kingdom of Israel,—the other, in the kingdom of Judah—and how each of them had to suffer to excess, in body and in soul. And if we ask for the consciousness of the prophets as regards this suffering connected with their office, we find it expressed with full clearness and distinctness by Isaiah (see Is. l. 5—9). But the capability of suffering appears, in another way, as a Messianic sign in the stage of the prophetical office. The less that the prophetical office is bound to outward conditions, the better it is able to make manifest the popular foundation of this office, or to render plain the intimate and essential connexion of the prophetic office with the prophetic people. Hence it is that Israel itself is, without circumlocution, called the servant of Jehovah (see Is. xli. 8; xlviii. 20; xlix. 3); and, in agreement with the time then present, this servant of Jehovah is pre-eminently the prophet. But if Israel be the anointed servant and prophet of Jehovah, his position towards the Gentiles can be none other than that of the prophetic individual towards the rulers

and people of Israel; especially since the time has now come in which the Gentiles extend their power over the whole earth, and assume the character of the world's power. It is clear that it is only by means of the most complete self-denial, that Israel can fulfil their office of being prophets to the whole world, in opposition to the hostile power of the Gentiles.

All these historical facts of the Old Testament, which prove the capability of suffering to be an essential requisition for the Anointed One, have, as regards the point in question, their probative power not a little increased by the circumstance, that it is just the history of the Old Testament which shews that the person who has to carry out the vocation of the Anointed One has not yet appeared at all within the Old Testament history, and for this among other reasons, that the Old Testament bearers of this office were not equal to the suffering demanded by it. For by what was it that Moses fell? Was it not because, in a critical moment, he had not patience to bear the opposition of Israel, but allowed himself to be carried away by it to disquietude and want of confidence (see Numb. xx. 6—11; Deut. iv. 21)? After such a precedent, it cannot but appear to be somewhat doubtful whether any one under the Old Testament would be capable of bearing the Divine office. We have already shown that, as regards the priestly and regal office, there are definite facts and witnesses which bring out that such was the case. Should it be different with respect to the prophetical office? Old Testament Scripture has provided that no doubt as to that should exist. It has not omitted distinctly and emphatically to maintain that even those two representatives of the prophetic office who occupy a most prominent part in the history, have had such moments in their lives in which they yielded to the burden of their office. And if we ask what it was which they wanted, we see that, in Elijah, as well as in Jeremiah, it was the strength needed for bearing the suffering connected with their office (comp. 1 Kings xix.; Jer. xx. 14—18). But it is self-evident that the people of Israel did not, by any means, fulfil their vocation under the Old Testament; inasmuch as, ever since Moses, it has been established by facts that the people will not be able to correspond to their task and destination, until the vocation of Israel has first been carried out by an individual, and,

thereby, the necessary means have been created for the perfecting of the nation. Thus we are taught, by means of history, that the person of Him who, in the full and final sense, is the Anointed One, has not yet appeared in the Old Testament time; and that, if it was to appear, it needed to be endowed with a higher degree of willingness and ability to suffer, than was found with the principal bearers of the Divine office under the Old Testament. The first of the two questions raised has thus been decided; and it has been found that, as regards the Messiah, the suffering could so little be regarded as an offence, that it must, on the contrary, be regarded as an essential sign.

After all that has gone before, we cannot but expect that we must likewise attend closely to the Old Testament history and sphere of thought, when we raise, and, in an indirect manner, answer the second question. In this question, moreover, the Old Testament character comes out still more distinctly and undeniably. Let us only examine more closely the terms here used, as they represent themselves when viewed from the end. The distinction of the "people and Gentiles," in the first place, refers, quite distinctly, to the Old Testament history and view of the great contrast which, in the history of the world, appears among the nations of the earth. The announcement of light, farther, implies the condition of night and darkness, both for Israel and the Gentiles. But is that not the same view which, in ver. 18, we recognized as the prophetical view of the time of the kingdom of the world? But, if so, is then the office assigned here to the Anointed One—the announcement of light to the people sitting in night and darkness, Jews as well as Gentiles—not exactly the prophetic office which had previously been begun by Israel and Micah who, in the midst of the night, announce the light of the morning? And do we not, in this way, come again into the same track of Old Testament information which we found at our first question? It is, indeed, at once intimated here, that that prophetic ministry which is here meant is not a mere repetition of that already mentioned in the Old Testament. Isaiah and Micah, it is true, share in the same darkness of the same night to which their people, along with the whole world, have been subjected; but that does not imply that they shared to the full extent in this condition of their

people. We must have perceived, indeed, that the prophets were altogether unable to follow the people to the lowest depth of their sufferings. St Paul, therefore, here at once marks a depth from which the Old Testament prophets were obliged to keep aloof; and, for this reason, they were unable, with complete success, to proclaim the light. We have seen, from the first part of the discourse under consideration (see ver. 7), that the lowest degree of the condition in which the people of Israel, after their general apostacy from Jehovah, found themselves, is designated, by the Old Testament, as death, and that St Paul adopts this notion. To this idea he here recurs. For when he says of the Messiah: πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, he supposes that the Messiah must first have belonged to the communion of the dead. The Messiah must, therefore, have descended to the equality of death with His people; and in this we just find a confirmation of the result which came out when we discussed the first of the questions here proposed. But the more distinctly we saw that the Messiah is obliged, by His office, to want nothing necessary to constitute an equality of sufferings with His people, and, hence, with the Gentiles also, the more we may be assured that the entering of the Messiah into the communion of the death of His people—which is here intimated—will be complete, and without reserve. And hence, since the darkness in which the nations are sitting is a shadow of death (צַלְמָוֶת Is. ix. 1), the darkness into which the Messiah must, and will, enter must be the night of complete death, without God (χωρὶς Θεοῦ, see Heb. ii. 9). But, from the whole course of the Old Testament history, it appears with certainty, that after the Anointed One of God shall have entered into so full a communion of the deepest distress of His people, the complete redemption also must, of necessity, take place. For, we have seen that that which was awanting in all the anointed servants of Jehovah in the Old Testament time, was a complete entering into the sufferings of their people, and that, therefore, none of them is the Anointed One κατ' ἐξοχήν. But, as soon as the Anointed One has entered into the complete communion of the sufferings of His people, all the obstacles which always, in the Old Testament time, opposed themselves to the redemption of Israel, must disappear; and Jehovah, having now found the executor of His will, can-

not but carry out His decree concerning Israel—conceived in eternity, and afterwards declared—and will assuredly do so.

But, from this point of view, it might readily appear as if, in propounding the question under consideration, we were compelled to abandon the Old Testament mode of expression, and to have recourse to the New Testament history, as that upon which the form depends. For while it is peculiar to the Old Testament mode of expression to represent the entrance of final salvation as a sudden one, as soon as the condition appears to be fully complied with, we find here that the effect of the life from death consists, in the first instance, of nothing else than the announcement of light; and this seems to be in harmony, rather with the New Testament history, with its gradual progress, and its thorough-going spiritual character, than with the Old Testament aspect, which, in a rapid view, brings the object before us. Now, it certainly cannot be denied that Paul, in thus vindicating his testimony, does not withdraw from the light of the New Testament fulfilment; but we must deny altogether that he anywhere allows himself to be carried away from the faith of the Old Testament view, by suddenly encroaching upon the New Testament history. Let us, above all, not overlook the circumstance that the necessity for the Anointed One, as maintained by the Old Testament history and doctrine, has its ultimate reason in the acknowledgment and maintenance of the full and inviolable integrity of human development. But, if such be the case, there will not be wanting, even in the Old Testament, distinct points of support for that form in which we here find expressed the effects produced by the entering of the Messiah into the communion of the death of Israel, and His coming forth from it with new life. Of this description is the call of the prophet Isaiah upon Zion, covered with darkness and night, to arise because her light is coming (see Is. lx. 1). For, in this, there is expressed the necessity that Israel, before being able to receive the light of their final salvation and blessing, must, in their innermost hearts, long for this appearance of Divine light, —must allow their innermost susceptibility and capacity for light to be fully developed and completed. This internal preparation of Israel is effected by nothing else than the commencement of the coming light, which announcement, again, cannot

be made more powerfully by any one than by Him who, himself, has overcome the utmost darkness, in order to create out of himself, and to bring in the new light. And it is just this, and this alone, which is meant by the words in our passage regarding the message of light by Him who rose the first from the dead. The matter may, however, be viewed in another aspect also, namely, from the sphere of thought implied in death and new life. In this light also, it is viewed in the passage under consideration; and then another Old Testament passage forms the transition to the representation before us. The raising of the dead in Israel is, in the vision of Ezekiel, accomplished only by means of the prophetic work (see Ezek. xxxvii. 4, 7, 9, 10, 12). But, from Ezekiel's confessing that he does not know what will be the Future of this great valley full of bones (ver. 3), it appears that he is not yet the prophet who has the power of such an original spiritual and creative word. And what other prophet, except Him who conquered death and brought up new life, will indeed be able to call into the kingdom of death such a death-conquering and life-creating word? We thus perceive that the Old Testament, in order to work out the new life, does not only afford room for a prophetic ministry, but even demands it. Need we, then, wonder that St Paul, having seen how great is the importance and significance of this prophetic activity of the Anointed One, expresses the Old Testament mode of representation in such a way, that its New Testament fulfilment clearly shines through.

We are now in a condition to survey the peculiar train of thought which St Paul, in this last part of his discourse for his defence, has followed. He endeavours to prove the agreement of his announcement with the Scriptures of Israel, not by asserting that there are, in the Old Testament prophecy, the same actual contents as those to which, in his New Testament proclamation, he bears witness as historical; but rather, by holding the word of Moses and the Prophets to be, as it were, the schedule filled up by the New Testament history. The Old Testament word affords, accordingly, the true light for understanding the facts of the history of Jesus; so that this history receives its true and due position and significance by the assistance of that word only. The light of the Old Testament word being thus brought

to bear upon it, the death of Jesus appears as the full measure of the sufferings which the Anointed One of Israel has to bear in consequence of His office;—and the resurrection of Jesus from His grave, as the first fruits of the resurrection of Israel from their sentence of death, and which is destined to overcome, from within, both among Israel and among Gentiles, the power of darkness and death. By their being thus viewed in the light of the Old Testament, all the New Testament facts appear as necessarily connected with the people of Israel, and with their past and future position in the history of the world. But, from the consideration of the Acts of the Apostles, it appears, more and more clearly, that the course which the New Testament history is to take is such, that the person and influence of Jesus, as regards the outward appearance, separate themselves and depart, farther and farther, from Israel. As St Paul writes in 2 Cor. iii. 17, the Lord himself, in His heavenly existence, is the Spirit; and His Church becomes more and more a Church of the Gentiles, who are enemies and opposed to Israel, so that the effectual, refreshing presence of Jesus departs farther and farther from the hills of Jerusalem, and prepares to itself a place on the hills of Rome, the metropolis of the Roman world. The more decidedly that this separation of Jesus and His Church from Israel manifests itself, the more unessential will appear that Old Testament view and representation of New Testament facts which is contained in the relation of the New Testament to the Old Testament Word. But since, from the Church's point of view, we cannot avoid assuming a relation betwixt the Old and New Testaments ordained by God, we are imperceptibly induced to view this relation as a parallelism of facts prophesied and told. But then, a twofold great disadvantage undeniably appears. *First*, If the relation betwixt prophecy and fulfilment be essentially nothing else than that that which was first uttered in the Future, is, afterwards, repeated in the Past, then, indeed, the unity of the Divine counsel which pervades all the times becomes manifest; but it cannot be denied that this, after all, can be regarded as only a poor acquisition. And, *secondly*, Such a parallelism cannot be established without doing violence to the Old Testament. In order to obtain the series of Messianic passages, almost all the rest of the Old Testament is cast aside,

and undervalued; in order to attain the oases of prophecies as literally as possible, the most fruitful territories of the Old Testament Scriptures are changed into solitudes and deserts.

The more deeply we must lament this onesidedness of view in the Gentile Church, as regards the relation of New Testament history to Old Testament prophecy, the more important and significant it must appear to us that, just in this place, and at this period, the Apostle of the Gentiles expresses, and exhibits for our consideration, an altogether different view of this relation. Scarcely any one has perceived so early as St Paul, that the person and influence of Jesus withdrew from the people of Israel on account of their unbelief, and, instead of uniting with them, opposed them in every possible way. And no one has more comprehensively and deeply than St Paul seen through this contrariety of Jesus and His Church to the Jews, while, at the same time, no one has, in his body and spirit, experienced it so much as he. And this knowledge and experience have reached their highest degree, just during the most recent period of his life,—during his residence at Jerusalem and Cesarea. But is St Paul thereby induced to sink the original and essential relation of Jesus to the people of Israel, and to receive and preach Jesus according to His relation to the world universally, loosed from His national and territorial definiteness,—in His spiritual aspect, divested of all His carnal limitation? Any thing but that; for St Paul lives and moves in the thought that the existence and operation of Jesus are hidden, unapproachable, and incomprehensible (see Col. iii. 1—4). For this reason, he allows himself in nowise to be determined, as to his views regarding the person and nature of Jesus, by that which is manifest and real on earth. Whether, therefore, Jesus has any relation to Israel, and what that relation may be, cannot, from Paul's point of view, be by any means recognised and measured by the consideration of the manner in which the person and dominion of Jesus manifested themselves, outwardly and by deeds, towards the Jews at any time, but must be recognized and determined in a totally different way. St Paul, it is true, cannot remain indifferent and cold when he sees how the separation betwixt Jesus and the Jews becomes wider and deeper. We know that the experience of this occasioned the deepest and most constant

grief to the world-comprehending heart of the Apostle. What must he have felt when, having, for the last time, come up to Jerusalem with the final message and offer of Divine mercy for Israel, he was rejected by the whole of the people as well as by their legal rulers and leaders, and persecuted with deadly hatred, on the hill of the Sanctuary! It is true that, in the house of St James, and in the presence of all the elders of the Church at Jerusalem, he had a happy refreshment, and one which was unequalled. It was the anticipated joy of a Pentecost which, in perfect joy, was to unite with their God and Lord, not only the first fruits, but the whole harvest of the people of Israel. But, just at the moment when, by this anticipated joy in the house of James, the heart of Paul had been enlarged, so as to receive the fulness of joy in the house of Jehovah,—just at that moment, the cup of his pentecostal joy on the altar of God, is, by the hatred of the Jews, filled with wormwood and bitterness. It is true that he is now delivered out of the hands of the Jews, by Roman justice, and military power; and, by the word of the Lord, his afflicted countenance has been turned away from Jerusalem, and directed towards Rome. During his two years' imprisonment at Cesarea, St Paul had time and leisure enough to meditate upon this momentous crisis in the course of the kingdom of God. Well might he, during this period, have been able to give this direction to his thoughts:—that, owing to the stiff-necked and obstinate unbelief of the Jews, the relation of Jesus to them might be considered as broken and destroyed, and that, henceforth, that national aspect of the person and history of Jesus must altogether give way to the individual aspect by which he is turned equally towards all nations, or rather, to all the individual members of the human family; so that now the whole influence of Jesus must not only begin and lay its foundation in the sphere of the individual, but must also for ever remain in it. Such a direction of his thoughts might, indeed, have softened and alleviated that grief, and have rendered it easier for the Apostle to enter upon his career in the metropolis of the Gentiles. The view of the Gentile Church, as regards this territory, sufficiently shows, that the possibility of such a direction of thought is anything but fanciful; for the Gentile Church has, indeed, given herself up to

this train of thought. But it is now indeed manifest that, in so doing, she has entered upon a dangerous and pernicious path. For, since such an individual application of the doctrine regarding Jesus is abstract and untrue, the Gentile Church has, as the result of such spiritualizing, experienced the confusion and darkness by which she has invested heathen nationalities with the glory of the people of God, and the heads of the kingdom of the world, with the halo of the kingdom of God. It is in the mirror of this confusion that the Divine clearness and greatness of the Apostle of the Gentiles is, in the present moment, distinctly seen. In his confessions regarding his relations to Moses and the Prophets, St Paul gives us the result of his solitary and quiet meditation about the last rupture of Jesus with the Jews, and His turning decidedly towards the city of the Gentiles, which He puts in the place of beloved Zion. The difference in this respect betwixt the Apostle of the Gentiles and the Church of the Gentiles is this:—the love of the Apostle for the people of God was too deep to be eradicated by any experience, however painful; his love was just a real, Divine flame which penetrates through death and hell (see Song of Sol. viii. 6, 7); while, on the other hand, the love of the Gentile Church for Israel was not sufficiently strong to stand the severe trial which was presented by the stiff-necked obstinacy of the Jews. While, therefore, the Gentile Church is, by her experience of the present wickedness of the Jews, easily induced not to be punctilious as regards the holy Past of Israel, the Apostle's eye of love is not turned away by any thing, from looking, with a steady and immoveable gaze, to the Divine and eternal call of Israel. To this eye of love it is given to behold, even at that time, when the festival assembly of Israel is changed into a hostile mob, raging and infuriated against what is best and holiest in the whole feast;—when the seat of Moses is turned into a throne of Satan;—when the city of God draws down irrevocably upon herself the thunders of God's wrath;—even at a time when, in one word, the whole visible Present of the people of Israel, as far as they are concerned, brings on a rupture with their Past and Future, and thereby disappears from the reality of the history of salvation:—to the eye of such love it is given, even at such times, to behold another structure far surpassing all the glory and divinity of that which is at pre-

sent visible, and which, by its unassuming visible appearance, will be able to afford a rich compensation, just at that time when that tangible national and territorial glory falls into ruins. This wonderful and glorious structure is the Scripture of the Old Testament. While the structure of the history of Israel, reared on the foundation of the flesh, is broken down, the structure of the history of Israel, reared on the foundation of the Spirit, shines with a beauty and brightness so much the more glorious. Now we understand why St Paul just at this time utters, concerning the word of Moses and the Prophets, things greater and more glorious than he had ever uttered before; and that he maintains this, his relation to Scripture ever afterwards, because the reason which had forced him so powerfully into the Scripture remains valid and effectual, even for aftertimes. It is by this circumstance that I can account for the fact, that in his pastoral Epistles, which all belong to a later period of his life, he so warmly insists upon the Scriptures being read in the Church (see 1 Tim. iv. 13), and that he so earnestly enjoins Holy Writ as a rule and guide to highly enlightened, and far advanced Timothy (see 2 Tim. iii. 14—16). We now see, likewise, that it is not from mere outward considerations of prudence that St Paul so prominently and emphatically points out his agreement with the Old Testament writings; but that, in this part of his discourse also, he utters what, at the present moment, he feels in the depths of his heart. This is, to us, the most perfect proof that, on this occasion, he was not forsaken by the Holy Spirit whom Jesus had promised to His disciples for their defence before the mighty ones of the earth. For, since the Holy Spirit is the Spirit by whom the children of God are led, the word which He bestows upon a man must, as to its form and matter, be in harmony with man's innermost nature; so that the more that that word agrees with the innermost nature and peculiarity of man, the more it has the impress of the Holy Spirit.

The more St Paul felt distressed by the present condition of Israel, urged on by the evil spirit, the more firmly and ardently he clung to the Past, sealed for eternity by the Spirit of God; and it is for this reason that he recognized the Old Testament Scripture in all its truth and significance. It was then, as we saw, that the perfect unity of the Old and New Testaments shone

into his soul as it had never done before. But if he had not gone beyond this unity, he must have overlooked essential things in the Old Testament. His eye of pure love at once saw that the difference between the Old Testament word and the New Testament Present was as thorough as the unity between them; and he acknowledges the import of this difference as frankly as he maintains the unity. But will this difference not perplex him? So far from it, that supposing, as he does, the unity, it is just in this difference that he finds the true satisfaction after which he is seeking. For it is when viewed in its difference that the Old Testament word shows that everything which, by the unbelief and obduracy of Israel, has been detracted from the operation and influence of Jesus, is an eternal and inalienable attribute of His person and kingdom. Whatsoever, therefore, the Jews, with their high priest, and Jerusalem, with its temple, may become,—let it be that they rage against the Lord and His Anointed until God again delivers up His holy city and temple to fire and sword;—by the visible presence of Holy Scripture it is now certain to St Paul, that that concealed Jesus, who manifests himself as the Saviour of the Gentiles, and of all sinners to the ends of the earth, is, and will remain, to all eternity, the same which He was, namely, the Son of David, the Anointed King of Israel, who, indeed, has himself conquered the darkness, and walks in the light; but who, for the night which covers Jews and Gentiles, does, meanwhile, nothing else than announce the morning-dawn, in order, at some future period, to bring in, for Israel and all the Gentiles, that day itself which Isaiah and all the Prophets have praised.

While St Paul, in this living and spiritual manner, views the unity of the two Testaments, and does not overlook their difference on account of their unity, he guards against the mixing up of the two dispensations of Holy Writ,—a mistake into which the Gentile Church has so often, and so deeply fallen. But as certainly as the Church will not forsake her Lord, so certainly will she be brought faithfully to follow in this point as well as in every thing else the Apostle ordained for her by the Lord. Having, by a spiritualizing and a mixing up of the two Testaments, robbed herself of a good portion of the Old Testament patience and comfort (see Rom. xv. 4), she has, in a carnal manner, sought

and found a manifold compensation for this spiritual support and help. But it can surely not fail that these reeds of Egypt will be broken, and will bring pain to the Church. She will then, however, remember her holy Apostle and leader, and divested of all temporal glory and support, will take the staff of the Holy Spirit—the writings of Moses and the Prophets—and obtain in them a strength and help such as she has never known, nor conceived of.

After St Paul has finished his discourse, it is clearly seen of what importance and significance it was that king Agrippa presided in this assembly. For the heathen Procurator has received from St Paul's speech an impression altogether erroneous; he charges St Paul with raging, and thinks that much reading of books had made him mad (see ver. 24). We should, however, certainly err in inferring from these words of the Roman, that Paul had spoken in great excitement and disquietude. On the contrary, the whole discourse leaves the impression, that the Apostle was cool and composed, just as the circumstances would require him to have been. And Paul himself says that his discourse bore the character of soberness (*σωφροσύνη*). It must, then, have been the matter of the discourse which made so disagreeable an impression upon Festus. It is true that many of the arguments must have been altogether unintelligible to him; but some of them he must have understood so far as to make him perceive that they were different from, and opposed to all other human thinking. And, besides, it cannot have escaped him that, notwithstanding all his calmness, St Paul exhibited and manifested, in his statements, an immoveable conviction. But Festus cannot imagine that a conviction of things opposed to all human thinking could exist in any other state than that of madness. And having heard the Apostle speaking of Moses and the Prophets, he may have possessed so much knowledge of these designations, as to be aware that these were men revered as authors of books; and, in the manner of an ingenious man of the world, he imagines that he has discovered the source of this mental aberration. But the case stands quite differently as regards Agrippa, and the confidence placed in him by St Paul is fully justified (see vv. 2, 26). It is on two things, as we see, that St Paul rests his confidence. *First*, he says that the

historical facts, upon which he relies in his discourse, were not done in a corner. By these historical facts, the history of Jesus is, of course, to be understood. Since then Agrippa—for this is what St Paul means to intimate by these words—belongs to the country in which such evident facts have taken place, nothing connected with these facts can be unknown to him. As to the manner in which these facts are to be understood, the Prophetic writings of the Old Testament are, as St Paul has intimated in his defence, the natural rule. With respect to this point also, St Paul thinks that he can calculate upon Agrippa's agreeing with him, namely, that according to the general belief of the Jews (see Joseph. cont. Apion. i. 8) he acknowledges a Divine authority in the prophets. Hence there exist in Agrippa the two main requisites for understanding his whole confession, and especially his assertion that, by his Apostolic testimony, he had not apostatized from the substance and faith of Judaism, and that, hence, he had claims for protection and toleration within the Roman empire. That St Paul was not mistaken in supposing so much, is proved by the answer of Agrippa which, in certain respects, goes even farther than St Paul had, in the first instance, intended; and, for this reason, proves so much the more strongly the existence of what is more obvious. We cannot, it is true, adopt the translation of Luther, according to which Agrippa confesses himself to be so touched by the discourse of St Paul as to be nearly becoming a Christian.[1] For, no doubt, Meyer is right in asserting in opposition to Grotius, that ἐν ὀλίγῳ does not mean "almost," but that only those compounds of ὀλίγον have that signification which mean the opposite of ἐν. If then ἐν ὀλίγῳ must be understood as denoting, either time—which, according to the passages adduced by Wetstein, is most favoured by the *usus loquendi*—or, the instrument—which is suggested by the sense attributed to it in the answer of St Paul—we must agree with Meyer that the remark of Agrippa must be viewed as containing a slight admixture of irony; so that the sense is: "In so short a time, or, with so few words, thou meanest to induce me to become a Christian; and yet that is a

[1] Luther's German version agrees with the authorized English.—[TR.]

matter of a most serious nature." We thus see from this passage that Agrippa, according to the disposition of his innermost heart, is still at a very great distance from the faith of Paul —a circumstance which, as Meyer rightly remarks, appears with sufficient plainness from the designation *Χριστιανός*, and which, according to what St Paul has hinted at, concerning him, in xxv. 13, must, a priori, be probable. But there is implied, nevertheless, in these words, a circumstance which proves that Agrippa occupies a far higher position than Festus, and that he is really able to judge of St Paul's cause,—a work for which Festus evidently shows himself to be incompetent. In the first place, it appears from the remark of the king, that he fully understands how to appreciate the prudent conduct of St Paul, and, hence, is entirely free from such blindness as that in which we see Festus involved. For although St Paul has said nothing with a view to that end, nor has given even the slightest intimation of it, yet Agrippa perceives plainly that, in this whole discourse for his defence, the Apostle's ultimate object is the conversion of his hearers to the faith of Jesus. Secondly—This remark of the king entitles us to suppose that, even as to the details of the Apostle's representation, Agrippa has got the impression, that they are appropriate and striking; that, specially, he could not conceal from himself the importance of what St Paul said regarding the historical facts of his testimony, and the relation of the prophetic word to them. For if Agrippa is able to perceive, in the Apostle's discourse for his defence, the intention of converting him (Agrippa),—an intention not directly intimated by any thing—he must certainly have been convinced of the appropriateness of the discourse for its primary object. And, as we have shown, it is just this for which St Paul is chiefly concerned (see ver. 2); and it is just in this point of view that St Luke communicates, so minutely, the whole proceedings. It is, therefore, quite out of place in Schneckenburger (see Zwek der Apostelgesch. S. 149) to object against understanding the words, *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*, ironically; because, in such a case, the answer of Agrippa would lose all its apologetic force which it was here chiefly intended to have. This argumentation rests entirely on the false supposition that some apologetic view exists here. St Luke, it is true, intends here to

show us that the endlessly-protracted cause of St Paul had been advanced towards a decision, by the utterance of King Agrippa; but this promotion of the cause of the Apostle Paul lies altogether beyond the personal sphere; it has its foundation in his relation to the Jews, which had been determined by birth, education, and habit. But since, after all, Agrippa expresses his personal relation to Christianity, and declares that, as far as he was concerned, he was very far from being induced to embrace the faith of the *Χριστιανοί*, St Paul also cannot avoid entering upon it, and declaring, on his part, that it was indeed true that his ultimate object was the conversion of all (see xx. 31), and that, hence, those present were, all of them, included in this intention (see xxvi. 29). This declaration of the Apostle deserves every attention, as regards both the matter and the form. There is no doubt that St Paul beholds, in king Agrippa and his distinguished associates, the representatives of the highest order of the Roman Empire; and we have seen, farther, how closely the power of Satan appears to him to be connected with the kingdom, and how lively, just at this moment, he is conscious of this strange and awful connexion (see ver. 18). But it is just when we realize this view of the world, and of the assembly then present, that it is so instructive to find that St Paul is not prevented, by such a view, from addressing to every one of these representatives of the Roman world's power, the desire and hope of eternal life, and that he does not, in the comprehensiveness of his intentions and hopes, in any way exclude him who represents the presence of the prince of the world. This wonderful, twofold aspect in his position towards the kingdom of the world is likewise found in the prophet of the kingdoms of the world, namely, Daniel. To him it was given, on one hand, to look into the mystery of the injustice and wickedness which prevailed in, and influenced the whole world, and, for all time to come, to lay open this mystery with fearful earnestness. But, on the other hand, we find him in the most friendly and cordial relation to the first possessor and ruler of that kingdom, in which that awful mystery of Daniel has laid its foundation for spreading over the whole world, and we find him invested with the highest honours and dignities at the courts of these kingdoms of the world.

In a most appropriate and elegant manner, St Paul now

declares his personal position towards king Agrippa, and the other Roman high officials. There was for St Paul some bitterness contained in this declaration of Agrippa, inasmuch as he shut himself up against all that the Apostle had said. But in his reply he is far from allowing himself to be determined by it in any other way than in that of showing the highest degree of consideration, in opposition to the excitement of the King. For this reason, he uses the expression *εὐξαίμην ἂν τῷ Θεῷ*, "I should like indeed to pray to God" (see Meyer on this passage), in which the wish of the heart is expressed in the most decided way, and yet no possibility is afforded for finding in it any troublesome importunity. And the farther explanation of his wish is as well considered, and as elegant. Whilst resuming, in the words: *καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ*, the doubtful remark contained in the King's words: *ἐν ὀλιγῳ*, and thereby, without bitterness, rendering them pointless, he evidently avoids repeating the other words of the king: *Χριστιανὸν γενέσθαι*; but in the place of the ambiguous expression, he puts the lively and expressive designation of his own person. For of this he might be assured, that his conduct, which was as decided and fearless, as it was measured and becoming, had produced a favourable impression upon the unprejudiced minds of the assembly. And this favourable impression could not fail to be considerably strengthened by the little addition with which St Paul closes his reply; *παρεκτὸς τῶν δεσμῶν τούτων*, says Paul, showing by his outstretched hands (see ver. 1) the chains which, even in the case of a lenient imprisonment, were put on the hands (see J. Walch. Dissertationes in Acta Apostol. iii. 261). By thus delicately exhibiting his chains, he shows the highly educated assembly that his soul remained free and unfettered.

We cannot, after all this, be in the least surprised that St Luke, in now closing, reports that the assembly give sentence to this effect: "That this man has done nothing worthy of death, or of bonds;" and that Agrippa, as king, gives the definite sentence that the man might be set at liberty (see vv. 31, 32). But while the opinion of the whole assembly does not go beyond that which the Procurator, Festus, had already formed and pronounced (see xxv. 18—20, 25), Agrippa goes a step farther, and closes the whole proceedings by the declaration that St Paul

might be set at liberty. That was the highest aim which St Paul, by his defence, would, or could have reached. He had appealed to Caesar, in order to protect himself against the partiality of the Procurator;—king Agrippa, to whom Festus himself applied as to one who was better acquainted with the cause, and was possessed of higher authority, may well be regarded by St Paul as the Emperor present. The circumstance that this king, in opposition to the Jews, fully acknowledges, and declares without reserve, the justice of the Apostle's cause, is the highest security, that the order of the Roman Empire, up to its supreme head, is, by the co-operation of the power of the good Spirit, in the sphere of the world, with the Gentile Churches on earth, brought into the service of the kingdom of Christ.

The more distinctly we saw, that the kingdom of Herod represents the enmity of the kingdom of the world in its present actual state, the more remarkable and significant must appear to us the position which king Agrippa, as the fourth Herodian, occupies in the account before us. The conduct of king Agrippa in the cause of St Paul is a phenomenon which is altogether novel. The Jews as a community, and in their rulers, have conspired against the life of St Paul, because they imagine that they perceive, in his conduct, an apostacy from the God and law of their fathers which deserves to be punished by death. Agrippa believes in the prophets, like all the Jews, and, in so far, is a Jew. But he is far from thinking that St Paul has committed any crime worthy of death. He must, thus, not fail to see the connexion betwixt the Apostolical conduct of St Paul, and his inherited Judaism. The representatives, too, of the power of the Roman Empire had protected St Paul against the fanaticism of the Jews; but inasmuch as this protection was deficient in thorough-going energy, St Paul was still in danger, and did not get out of his painful position. Agrippa, the Idumean, is, like his fathers, a vassal of the Roman Emperor; and is, therefore, likewise a representative of the order of the heathen Roman Empire. But, as his royal title stands above that of the Procurator; as he, therefore, represents the Emperor—the supreme head of the kingdom of the world—more fully than a Procurator does, his intercession, also, in St Paul's behalf, becomes more decisive and effective than that of a Procurator. And, altogether

apart from the circumstance that the Procurators, in their relation to the Jews, were deficient in the right energy, it is, after all, especially their ignorance in the matters here in question which, in this cause, stands in their way;—a circumstance which has very distinctly appeared in the conduct of Festus before Agrippa. Agrippa is protected from the violent fanaticism of the Jews, by his official relation to the Roman empire; and from the narrow-mindedness of the heathen Procurators, he is secured by his having, from birth and habit, joined the Jews. But, from these circumstances, it appears at the same time, that the conduct of Agrippa is so minutely and significantly dwelt upon by St Luke, because, in it, a phenomenon is to be brought before us which is destined to throw clear light upon the future development of the Church of Christ. King Agrippa succeeds to the throne of the Herods, as the fourth of that family, after his three predecessors have completed the hostility of the kingdom of the world to the kingdom of Jesus; and in this circumstance there is opened up to us the view, regarding the Roman kingdom of the world, that, after the time of hostility is completed, there shall follow a period in which the highest place in the Roman empire shall protect the Church of Christ from injury. This protection will not consist so much in the personal membership, in the Church of Christ, of the highest Ruler, as in a leaning of the highest government of the world towards the order and history of the Old Testament kingdom. The gods of heathenism are fallen,—their altars have been overturned. But, since the kingdom of the world cannot do without some religious order—and this, especially, was an acknowledged principle within the Roman empire,—nothing remained but to receive that order which the God of gods had ordained. This event has a precedent in the adoption of circumcision and Judaism, on the part of the Idumeans. It is by this objective acknowledgment of the Divine order and law, that there exists, within the kingdom of the world, the possibility for the Church of Christ to display itself, and move. For in its heathen narrow-mindedness, the kingdom of the world cannot honor the depth and breadth of the Christian life and character, even so far as to be able to comply with the just demand, to allow free scope to this life and character, which are in themselves innocent,—as is sufficiently manifested by the Procurator Festus

here, and, afterwards, by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. It is only after the heathen consciousness has been enlarged so as objectively to acknowledge the existence, in the world, of a Divine order and law, that a place is afforded where the confession of the Apostles and of the Church may, with the hope of being understood, be proclaimed with all liberty, and in its entire, full, and deep contents. In the appearance of king Agrippa in this place, we have thus to acknowledge the biblical truth of that power which is so full of importance for history, and which, by a dark and perplexing expression, has been designated by the name of the Christian magistrate and the Christian state. But it is, for this reason, all the more necessary to attend to the fact, that it is expressly pointed out that the position of the king had not, by any means, its foundation in his personal participation in the salvation of Christ, which, although willed by God, and longed for by the Church, is yet a distinct matter; and, farther, to the fact, that the matter in question is not, by any means, a promotion of the Gospel, by receiving into the organism of the Church the resources and powers of the state, but only the protection which the state is bound to afford, to every citizen, against injury and injustice from without.

§ 35. THE JOURNEY OF THE APOSTLE PAUL FROM CESAREA TO ROME.

(Chap. xxvii. 1—Chap. xxviii. 15).

The commencement of chapter xxvii. makes it very evident that, in the preceding section, we have not, by any means, overestimated the importance of king Agrippa for the cause of St Paul. Notwithstanding all the favourable opinions of the Roman authorities—of Lysias, Felix, and Festus—regarding the innocence of St Paul, his cause had, for two whole years, remained undecided. It is the sentence of acquittal in the cause of St Paul, pronounced by king Agrippa, who professed Judaism, which really advances the cause of St Paul. "It was determined," so we read in xxvii. 1, "that we should sail into Italy." By this, the last obstacle is removed which kept back even Festus (see xxv. 26, 27) from entirely withdrawing the Apostle from the insolence of the Jews.

This, it is true, is not a deliverance of the imprisoned Apostle. Moreover, it is mentioned immediately afterwards that he was associated with several other persons, and hence he must at all events have remained a prisoner to the Romans. As far, then, as this is concerned, all Agrippa's merit seems to vanish, inasmuch as his sentence of acquittal had, in reality, no substantial success. But we must not overlook that the journey which is now imposed upon St Paul by the Roman Court, in consequence of king Agrippa's decision, and his own appeal to Caesar, is just the way to Rome, whither, long ago, the innermost longing of his soul had directed him (see xix. 21), and with the prospect of which the Lord had comforted him in his imprisonment (see xxiii. 11). The ordering, on the part of the Roman authorities, of a vessel which is to carry St Paul, along with the other prisoners, to Italy, is, accordingly, in substance, only a saving of trouble and care to him. And since the Roman officials, from the commencement of his imprisonment at Jerusalem, were favourable to him, we may, especially when we take it in connexion with the sentence of acquittal pronounced by king Agrippa, who was acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, well expect that all possible relief and comfort would be granted to St Paul on the journey by the Roman commander,—an expectation which is fully confirmed in the progress of our account (see xxvii. 3). According to the statement at the beginning of the 27th chap., we thus at length find the Apostle Paul freed from the dangerous neighbourhood and communion of the Jews, delivered from the tedious and fatiguing imprisonment at Cesarea, and, at last, on the straight and sure way to the goal of his Apostolic ministry, of which he had, for so long a time, been desirous. By the grace of God, and the prayers of the Churches, the dark cloud which had, ever since he had turned his face towards Jerusalem, gathered over the Apostle's head, and threatened him with a deadly stroke, has thus been entirely dispelled. Out of death, the Apostle has been raised to new life; and he is now again placed on his career which is lighted up by the brightest sunshine, and lies before him even to the end of his intentions.

Should we now expect anything else than that St Luke would start anew, and in lively colours bring before our eyes the effects of the great Apostle's ministry on this, his journey to the

metropolis of the world,—effects at once so deep-reaching and far-stretching? How must we, therefore, indeed be astonished to hear very little, or even nothing at all of this; but on the contrary, even at the point where we think we have a right to expect, with great anxiety, the beginning of such a report, we are put off with a rather general close of the entire account. Instead of this vainly expected report, however, we get something entirely different, and our astonishment is, thereby, only increased. For the case does not, by any means, stand thus:—that, from this point onward, the account studies to be, in general, strikingly short and abrupt; but, on the contrary, there is no section in our whole book which, with such minuteness and copiousness, enters even into the smallest and most trifling events, as the report now under consideration of the Apostle Paul's journey from Cesarea to Rome, by sea and land. But in what is it that our account of the journey is so minute and detailed? Our account has just the appearance of the description of a voyage which takes an interest in the smallest and most unimportant outward events. Nothing reverts so frequently as the nautical expressions which change in the most various ways. The designations of the different winds, islands, and regions of the seas which came into consideration in this voyage, are minutely communicated; and, indeed, it may with perfect truth be asserted, that no description of a voyage, in ancient or modern times, excels in exactness and historical faithfulness that which St Luke has given in the last two chapters of the Acts (see Thiersch, die Kirche im Apostolischen Zeitalter, S. 171). It is true that this is a glory for this section; and we would not, by any means, overlook the circumstance that, in this extraordinary minuteness of the account, which we shall afterwards meet with, when treating of the details, a weighty argument is afforded to us against the superficial opinions of frivolous critics as to the origin of our Book. But it certainly cannot be sufficient for us to know, that we have here before us a section of extraordinary and evident trustworthiness, as long, at least, as we do not see how this section fits into the whole. On the contrary, the critical weight, which is attached to this extraordinary fidelity of the account, will be fully available for the whole Book, only when it is made manifest how such a minuteness in the report of the most indifferent matters,—a

minuteness which St Luke evidently was conscious of, and which had evidently been intended by him—agrees with the plan of the whole Book.

Are we, in these circumstances, to adopt the explanation of Olshausen who thus expresses himself: "The altogether uncommon minuteness with which this voyage is reported, may perhaps be accounted for by the circumstance that St Luke kept a diary during it, and afterwards embodied it, unchanged, in his work." These words, however, although claiming to be an explanation, in reality explain nothing. For, in the *first* place, how is it that St Luke, the Apostolic man, draws up a diary, so altogether external, on a voyage? And, *secondly*, if it was, after all, done, how could he answer it to his conscience, simply to embody, in his work on the beginnings of the Church, a fragment which had been got up in this way. And, *finally*, how is belief in the inspiration of the Canonical Book consistent with this two-fold superficiality? For, whatever men may think about inspiration, it, at all events, supposes an eminent degree of spirituality. We should also be obliged first to give up altogether our whole view of the Acts of the Apostles, if we were to receive so external an explanation, as regards even a single section. Let us rather, from the very outset, altogether invert the matter; let us, at first, conceal nothing of the real state of things, viz., that we really have before us an account which treats of islands and seas,—of winds, and shallow waters,—of shipwreck, and stranding,—of eating, and warming,—of soldiers and sailors,—of anything, in short, rather than of the conversion of sinners by the Apostolic testimony. But then, let us realize this also:—that, hitherto, we have been safely guided by that view of the events communicated in our Book, which takes its centre in the territory of the biblical history. Let us, therefore, at once take up the strange phenomenon before us, in such a manner that we exactly fix the point into which, according to our general view of the whole Book, we are placed by the account before us.

With the vessel which sails from Cesarea to Italy, the Divine light which is called to enlighten the nations—as St Paul has just declared of himself (see xxvi. 18)—goes to sea in order to fill with its shining brightness the centre of the nations and countries. This was an event, for the accomplishment of which

all things in sacred history, even since the calling of Abraham, were working together. The aim and object of the call of Abraham was, from the very outset, the bestowal of blessings upon all the nations and families of the earth. If, then, the blessing of Abraham and of his seed be the first feature in the progress which is here preparing, the blessing of all the nations is the second feature. The same comprehensive view manifests itself at the second commencement of the people of Israel,—at their deliverance from Egypt. For, the aim and object of Israel's priestly position (see Exod. xix. 6) is evidently directed towards the Gentiles—that they who were far from God, should be brought near, and into communion with God; so that, even here, Israel's privileges and prerogatives are only the first stage in the course of the development; while the communication of the same privileges and prerogatives to the Gentiles, by the instrumentality of Israel, forms the second. The same internal and necessary reference of Israel to the Gentiles appears at the time of the kings also. The kings of the earth, and their nations, it is true, are to do homage to the King of Israel (see Ps. ii. 12); but it is just in this that their real and only salvation consists (see Ps. c. 1, 2; cxxxviii. 4; 1 Kings viii. 41—43; Ps. lxxii. 9—17). Still more manifest does this relation of Israel to the Gentiles become at the time of the prophets, in which Israel is represented as the light which is to illuminate all the Gentiles (see Is. xlii. 6, 7); or as the servant of Jehovah who has to bear the sins of the Gentiles (see Is. liii. 3—6); in which time, therefore, the union of the Gentiles with Jehovah, the God of Israel, is also placed in view, as the completion of final salvation (see Is. ii. 3, 4; xix. 23—25; Zech. xiv. 16—19). But one would be very much mistaken if, on account of this relation of Israel to the Gentiles, one should suppose, that the more a Jew was pious and zealous, the more conscientiously and intently he would, wherever he had opportunity, have set about drawing heathen to the service of God. For we find no trace at all under the Old Covenant of this desire to spread the worship of Jehovah among the Gentiles; but, on the contrary, a very distinct trace of the opposite, viz., of the effort to keep back Gentiles from rashly joining the people and service of Jehovah. For such, evidently, is the conduct of Naomi, who is brought forward as a model of Israelitish piety,

towards Ruth (see Ruth i. 8, 11, 15). She consents to Ruth's going with her into the land of her people and her God, only when she saw that Ruth would, on no account, abandon the intention of so doing; she would, otherwise, rather have had her to return to her gods (see Ruth i. 15). This reserve in their conduct towards the Gentiles cannot at all be explained by imagining that it was not necessary for the Gentiles to be previously instructed and enlightened, in order to obtain their final salvation. Such a thought never entered the mind of any Israelite,—as is evident from the fact that the Psalmists and Prophets, from afar address the Gentiles and isles, and exhort and instruct them, although separated from them by the insurmountable obstacles of place, language, and the general relations of the nations (see Ps. ii. 2—12; l. 1; Is. xlix. 1; Jer. xxxi. 10; Lam. i. 18; Mic. i. 21). From this we learn that the internal desire of the Israelites to communicate to the Gentiles the mystery of their faith and hope is the more powerfully manifested, the less that this desire allows itself to be repressed by a regard to the obstacles which oppose such a communication. But if, nevertheless, we nowhere see the Israelites actually going out to the Gentiles, a very distinct reason for it must have existed. What other reason could this be, than the fundamental consciousness pervading the whole Old Testament time, that Israel is, as yet, not completed? The participation of the Gentiles in the salvation of God is nowhere declared to begin contemporaneously with the salvation of Israel, but is always represented as the consequence and effect of the completed salvation in Israel. Wherever this order was vividly realized, nothing could be more natural and necessary than not to venture to step out of the sphere of Israel into the sphere of the Gentiles, with this announcement of salvation, as long as they know that the salvation in Israel was not yet completed.

But it might, after all, be possible that the completion of Israel's salvation must be accomplished in this manner, that a few individuals, perhaps, or, it may be, one only who, like Moses, is able to represent the whole people, is perfected; while the remainder —the whole mass—remain in their imperfection. If such were to be the case, that second stage in the development of salvation must be accomplished in this manner:—that the work of salva-

tion proceeds from this one, or from these few, and that the Gentiles were thus drawn into the communion of salvation. And, indeed, it is manifest, even in the Old Testament time, that this is the course which it will take. A sure proof of it is found in the history of the Prophet Jonah. It is just because this history is prophetic, throughout, that it stands among the prophetical books. But the prophetic contents of the narrative are essentially these, that the transition of salvation from the Jews to the Gentiles is represented in such a manner, that this transition is to be effected by the rejection of the corrupted mass of Israel. Jonah, the son of Amittai (see Jon. i. 1), a prophet from Gittah-hepher, in the tribe of Zebulon (see Josh. xix. 13), lived at the time of Jeroboam II. (see 2 Kings xiv. 25). Jonah thus belongs to that period in which the sin of the kingdom of the ten tribes, according to the prophetical testimony of Amos and Hosea, began to fill up its measure, in order quickly to bring about the destruction of this apostate part of the whole people of Israel. But according to the passage, 2 Kings xiv. 25, just quoted, a more definite place is assigned to him in this period. He has brought to King Jeroboam the promise that he would succeed in re-establishing the old boundaries of Israel; and this was a renewal and confirmation of the promise which had been given to the house of Jehu, to the fourth generation (see 2 Kings x. 30). But this promise of Jonah to the Israelitish dynasty was, and remained the last; for it was just the enlargement of power obtained by Jeroboam which became the occasion of completing the pride and apostacy in Israel. No one could feel more deeply, and be more grieved at this sad turn of the last manifestation of mercy on the part of God towards the kingdom of Israel, than the prophet from the Northern part of the kingdom, which was first and most exposed to attacks from without, and who, as a prophet of Jehovah, had announced, as a gift of Divine mercy, the regaining of the old limits of the country. This prophet then, who could not but feel greater grief than any one at the apostacy of Israel, and the destruction which threatened them, received the commission from Jehovah to go to Nineveh, the city of Nimrod, by which the judgment upon Israel was to be executed in the time immediately at hand (see Jon. i. 2). The commission which he is to

execute at Nineveh is, indeed, the preaching of repentance; but a prophet knew, better than any one, that the preaching of repentance is a merciful dispensation of God, and the last means in the hand of God to deliver from destruction a people laden with guilt. Jonah also at once understands this commission in the sense that his mission to Nineveh is to be the sign that Jehovah would no longer trouble himself about the deliverance of Israel, but would give up this people to their fate; and that, however, He would, at the same time, turn to that people which was farthest from, and most opposed to the people of God —namely to Ashur, in order to warn them early, and to preserve them from destruction. Jonah perceives, by the command which he has received from Jehovah, that the Divine mercy is turning away from Israel, in order to turn to the uttermost part of the Gentiles. If we keep this in view, all that is dark and enigmatical in this history will vanish. For we find that Jonah does not comply with the command of God, but endeavours to flee from it (see Jon. i. 3, 10; iv. 2). Does, then, Jonah belong to the multitude of Israel who have cast behind them the command of Jehovah? In such a case, he could not be called the servant of Jehovah—as is written of him in 2 Kings xiv. 25; nor would such a command of Jehovah have been even given to him. But this evident disobedience on the part of the prophet of Jehovah is not the only thing which is strange in this history. After Jonah has undergone a severe chastisement, and has executed the command of Jehovah, he falls into a great passion and indignation (see iv. 1); and why? Because his preaching of repentance has had so general a success, and God, on account of that success, revokes His threatening against Nineveh. Jonah himself says that he is angry with Jehovah, because He is so gracious and merciful, slow to anger and of great kindness, and repents Him of the evil (see iv. 2). No doubt, we shall hesitate very much to follow Eichhorn, who, on account of this utterance, calls the character of the prophet, abominable or diabolical; but certainly there must exist a very strong reason before we can vindicate and find intelligible, in a prophet of Jehovah, such an utterance and disposition of mind,—especially, after he has undergone so severe a chastisement and correction. But if only we keep in mind that antithesis which we have already

indicated, we shall be able to understand both that disobedience and that indignation, without being perplexed with the position of the Old Testament prophet. If Jonah should have been able joyfully to execute that command of God,—to go with the word of God from Israel to Ashur; then he ought to have been a servant of Jehovah in such a sense as to have been able to forsake his people, for the sake of Jehovah. If Jonah should have been able to rejoice at the delay of Divine judgment upon this metropolis of the world's power, when the last hope for Israel's reconciliation has disappeared, he ought to have stood in the grace of Jehovah, in such a manner that in it he had full satisfaction, and needed nothing else, even if he knew his people to be lying under the wrath of God. Shall we wonder, then, that we do not yet find in Jonah such a union with Jehovah,—such a standing in the grace of Jehovah? It may well be expected and demanded of the bride of the King of Israel, that she should forget her people (see Ps. xlv. 11); but she does not belong to the people which have been elected by Jehovah, and chosen for an eternal inheritance. But it was quite a different case with an Israelite, if there existed an opposition betwixt Jehovah and Israel. It was into this opposition that Jonah was to place himself; he was by his walk, his word, and his work, to assist in establishing and maintaining it; he was willingly to resign himself, if now, by his word, the kingdom of faith and love was to be established in Nineveh, in order that this kingdom might attain, in Ashur, to that place which, hitherto, it had in Israel. Since Israel is, from the very commencement, most intimately connected with the revelation and grace of Jehovah, it is necessary that wherever this antithesis is conceived of and kept in view, pure and unspotted, all flesh must have perished. For that union of nature and grace, of flesh and spirit, which appears in the history of the people of Israel, necessarily implies that, wherever an opposition appears between Jehovah and Israel, all carnality should appear as condemned to its last root, and that nowhere should there remain any refuge or pretext for the flesh. Now, if, at the time of Jeroboam, such a person had existed in Israel, as, with his whole doing and working, willing and thinking, would have been able so to place himself into this antithesis,—such a person as, notwithstanding his sacred connexion with his

compatriots—the people of Jehovah,—could have altogether sacrificed the flesh, and have stood immoveably on the foundation of the Spirit, and on the side of Jehovah;—then, such a person would have been the completion of Israel. For, inasmuch as this person must give up his connection with the whole corrupted people, he stands opposed to the whole of his people, and must by his spirit overcome everything which, in the whole people, is flesh, and enmity to God. In such a person, therefore, a spirit is manifested who has power over the flesh in the whole opposed mass of the people; and this is just the end to which we are come in this territory, that all which is opposed to God, viz., the flesh, should be subject and united to God by the power of the Spirit.

And it is just when such a complètion of the work which Israel was called to do, is contained in the mission of the prophet to Nineveh, that the transition of salvation from Israel to the Gentiles becomes intelligible; for we have seen that this transition depends upon the time of Israel's consummation. But if so much depends upon this mission, and if the condition of it be so comprehensive, then we can understand, so much the more fully and clearly, why Jonah was not equal to this task. One might conceive, indeed, that this inability might have been shown in a way less striking and objectionable. For why must Jonah even flee from Jehovah, and undertake a foolish voyage? Why, besides, should he express his dissatisfaction in a manner so revolting? If Jonah had not been a prophet, a servant of Jehovah, the disproportion between the man and the task which was imposed upon him would have cóme out less glaringly and strikingly; the chasm would have been concealed, to a considerable extent, by a hesitating, undecided conduct. But the prophets and servants whom Jehovah chooses are just, entirely and fully, men, who do not strive to mutilate their own nature, and to divide their energies; but whatever they do, they do with their whole soul and strength; and whatever they speak, they speak from their whole heart and mind. This holds true in the good, as well as in the evil. This great gain, however, results from it, that whatever of good there is in them, appears in the peculiar and inimitable fulness of Divine works; and whatever has, on the other hand, remained imperfect and defective, shows the power of sin and of

the flesh expressed with equal strength; so that indeed no one can be deceived as to the existence of the imperfection, and every one may also see where the deep ground of the imperfection and incompleteness lies.

According to this standard Jonah must be judged; and it is even in this, that the possibility lies of his history's having become a significant type. Without dissimulation, and unreservedly, he has exhibited the resistance of his carnal nature and carnal will; and the Holy Spirit, in recording this resistance, has, as little, abated and mitigated it. But it has, thereby, become for ever manifest, not only that the transition of salvation from Israel to the Gentiles would not yet take place at the time of Jeroboam, but also what the causes were of this impossibility. By this, however, this history has become a type; for we learn from it, in the first place, that the transition of salvation from Israel to the Gentiles, which, from the very outset, was intended and provided for, will not be effected by the purification of the flesh gradually completing itself, but by the death of the flesh. And, *secondly*, from the dark shadow of Jonah, it becomes manifest of what stamp that man must be, who is to effect and accomplish that transition.

Because of this typical import of the history of Jonah, and in order to comprehend the significance of the period at which our history has arrived, we must now inquire more minutely wherein the imperfection and inability of the prophet manifested themselves. We have already seen that, generally, the two-fold obstacle to the fulfilment of his vocation was, *first*, the carnal connexion in which he stood to the people of Israel; and, *secondly*, the want of entire communion with Jehovah who sent him. In Jonah's relation to, and contrast with the Gentiles, it is seen that he is still connected with his people by carnal ties. It is evidently intended in the Book of Jonah, in so far to present to us the contrast between Israel and the Gentiles as to make it appear that, just at the time when Israel, by its pride, frustrated the last bestowal of the mercy of Jehovah, the Gentiles, yea even the Gentiles of the metropolis of the world, submit with susceptibility and humility to the word of Jehovah which they hear for the first time; and the whole people, from the king on the throne to the lowest of his subjects, as well as the very beasts in the manger, are covered with sackcloth in token of repentance before Jehovah (see Jon. iii. 6 9).

Now what is the conduct of Jonah when placed by the side of this contrast between heathen susceptibility and Israelitish obduracy? We find that having become disobedient to Jehovah's word and command, he has become altogether a prey to the obduracy of his carnal compatriots. Whilst the heathen sailors on the storm-tossed sea pray, every man to his god, and work to lighten the ship, Jonah lies in the sides of the ship, given up to a deep sleep (see Jon. i. 5). While the heathens in the vessel are shaken in their very hearts by the first and only announcement of Jehovah, the Creator of sea and earth, and, under the impression of such fear of God, go and pay their vows to Jehovah (see Joh. i. 10, 14—16), Jonah continues his disobedience to Jehovah's express command, although his individual and national past history points everywhere, to Jehovah's omnipotence and mercy. *Finally*, whilst the heathens in Nineveh, the metropolis of the world, as soon as they hear of Jehovah's threatening, repent in the hope of mercy, Jonah, with his compatriots, persevere in the bigoted view that Jehovah cannot spread His mercy over the Gentiles, especially when He hides His countenance from His people (see Jon. iv. 2). Jonah thus does not stand on the side of the susceptible Gentiles, but on that of the unbelieving Jews. On the other hand, we find it expressed by features which are equally plain, that Jonah has not become one with Jehovah. He must suffer, indeed, for having fled from the face of Jehovah, by being given up to the deep; but a respite is granted to him by the fish, so that he may recollect himself, and, after having been obliged to despair of all salvation and life, may again apply to Jehovah in prayer, in order, in that way, to obtain a new life out of death (see Jon. ii. 1—11). But it is just afterwards that it becomes very manifest how far Jonah is separated from Jehovah; for, even after he had gone through the midst of the sea, and had received his life anew, solely from the hand of Jehovah, he is able, indeed, to carry out, in an effective manner, and hence, with all his strength and devotedness, the command of Jehovah; but after this has been done, his communion with Jehovah, again and at once, comes to an end. He is with so little firmness rooted in the grace and communion of Jehovah, that a plant which came up in a night (see Jon. iv. 10) makes him exceedingly glad with its shadow (see iv. 6); while a worm which destroyed the gourd makes him sorry

and angry even unto death, and excites him to murmur against God (see iv. 7—9).

After all this, it is surely evident that he who really fulfils the position and destination which were assigned to the prophet Jonah, is none other than Jesus Christ. In the history of Jesus, we have, in regard to the opposition between Jehovah and Israel, and the contrast betwixt Israel and the Gentiles, just that very conduct of which the history of Jonah exhibits to us the opposite. As soon as the opposition between God and His people has reached its consummation, Jesus is quite ready to give back and to give up, through the eternal Spirit (see Heb. ix. 14), to His people in rebellion against God, His body which He had received from his Israelitish fathers (see Rom. ix. 5). And where He meets with the contrast between the susceptibility of the Gentiles and the obduracy of Israel, He does not omit to express, openly, His joy at it (see Matt. viii. 10—12; xv. 28; John iv. 40). Thus Israel has really been perfected in Him; and hence the moment of the transition of salvation from the Jews to the Gentiles has really come. This then is the threatening sign of the prophet Jonas, which is now fulfilled upon Israel:—that Jesus, after having been in the deep for three days and three nights, and brought up new incorruptible life out of the bands of death, no more lets His countenance shine upon His people, but, at once, turns towards the Gentiles (see Matt. xii. 39—41; xvi. 4; Luke xi. 29—32). But that the Lord is Israel perfected according to their foundation and nature, He means to make manifest, by raising out of the midst of the corrupted people, by means of the Word, and Spirit from heaven, an instrument which is to carry His message to the Gentiles, and thus to follow up the farther course intimated in the sign of Jonah. This chosen vessel is the Apostle Paul (see Acts ix. 15). St Paul, by thus taking upon himself that which belongs originally to the office and work of Jesus himself,—namely, to announce, after the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, the light, not only to the people, but also to the Gentiles (see xxvi. 23)—becomes, in so far as this whole part of the real carrying out of the announcement of salvation to the Gentiles is concerned, the New Testament Jonah, after, by the three days and nights of his conversion (see ix. 9), he had been received into the communion of the death and burial of Jesus

Christ (see Rom. vi. 1—11). Although we have formerly had occasion to direct attention to this Old Testament light which, in no small degree, makes clear the vocation of the Apostle Paul; yet nowhere does the parallelism appear so clearly and instructively as in the passage before us. For, in the first place, never as yet, in the whole history of Israel, have the forsaking of God on the part of the Jews, and their obduracy against the grace of God, attained to such a height as in the time of St Paul's last stay at Jerusalem and Cesarea. For never yet has God come so near with His grace, melting and taking possession of the heart, as in Paul's message and companions from among the Gentile nations. But, at the same time, never before has Israel so wickedly and obstinately rebelled and raged against God's work of mercy, as on this occasion. Hence this period corresponds, better than any former one, with the full measure of corruption under Jeroboam, which we must conceive of as the cause of Jonah's being sent to Nineveh. On the other hand, the aim and object of the mission has never, so well as in the case before us, corresponded to the aim and object of the Old Testament message. For it cannot, on biblical grounds, be for a moment doubtful that the Nineveh of the time of Jonah cannot be any thing else than the metropolis of the Roman Empire, at the time of St Paul. But Rome is the aim to which the journey of the Apostle from Cesarea is directed, and that by the shortest way (see xxv. 12; xxvii. 1).

There is here, then, a carrying out and realization of that for which, as the ultimate aim, every thing from the time of Abraham was preparing and arranging. At length, all the barriers have fallen, all obstacles have been removed; and the word of God which, hitherto, has been always bound and straitened, has at length prepared for itself an organ by means of which it can reach the heights of the world, in order, from this point, to make the trumpet resound to the ends of the earth. Surely, we might imagine that, with joy and happiness unspeakable, St Paul must have sailed from the harbour of Cesarea, with his face turned towards Rome; for, behind this his departure we must conceive of the holy ardour and pious longings of many centuries as the divine spring, as it were. The moment that we would conceive of this, however, there rises up before our minds the image of

Jonah, who, from Joppa, undertook to navigate the same sea, and in the same direction; but before we realize this fact, we must give room to another thought. We know, indeed, that, in the strength of Christ, St Paul has overcome his flesh, in order that he may not be impeded or disturbed in his calling, by a false regard to his people. But was it the flesh only which once prevented Jonah from turning to the East instead of to the West? Was it not the flesh which was connected with the grace of Jehovah and consecrated by the Divine past history of Israel, which proved too powerful for him, and so increased the grief over Israel's apostacy, that he had room for nothing else, and least of all for the thought that he himself, with his own hand, was to set up and confirm this antithesis between Israel and the Gentiles, in their relation to God? Since, then, St Paul was free from the flesh, because he had killed it by the Spirit, Jonah's resistance shews that the Apostle could not but feel, in his spirit, grief on account of Israel's apostacy and rejection; and it may easily be perceived, that the more that such a grief was pure and spiritual, the more it must have been deep and poignant. As the Lord wept over Jerusalem when the last hour of her mercy had struck (see Luke xix. 41—44); so St Paul, also, whose soul was constantly filled with deep, unutterable sorrow for his brethren after the flesh (see Rom. ix. 1—3), could, in sailing for Rome, not part from the land of Israel without the deepest grief in his heart over their unfathomable obstinacy and obduracy, and the wicked frustration of all God's thoughts of mercy and ways of salvation, on the part of Jerusalem and her children. The thought also is very natural, that since now the last means of mercy have failed which, ever since the days of Moses, God had ordained for the utmost obstinacy and hardness, viz.—their being stirred up to zeal by the Gentiles—nothing can now remain but a fearful looking for of judgment and of fiery indignation against the disobedient (see Heb. x. 27). But, since the last judgment upon Jerusalem and Israel was to be executed by the world's power (see Luke xxi. 20), Rome must appear to him as the appointed judge and avenger upon Jerusalem. What else, thus, is his preaching at Rome, but the consecration of the Roman world's power for the sacred office of judge and avenger upon the people of God (see Is. xiii. 3; Jer.

xxii. 7) ? Had it not been altogether the same with Nineveh ? Was it not as if, by Jonah's preaching at Nineveh, and by the repentance of the king with all his people there, Ashur had been prepared to be a staff of the Divine wrath, and a rod of the Divine anger, in order that Shalmaneser might be able to put an end to the kingdom of Israel ?

If we bear this in mind, we easily understand that the great joy which must have distinguished this moment of the first free out-going of God's message and grace into the midst of the world, was kept in abeyance by a deep grief. One might wonder, perhaps, that St Luke does not, at this point in his account, make any mention either of the elevating joy, or of the oppressive sorrow; and this silence of his might indeed shake again our entire view. But we must bear in mind that sacred historiography does not indulge in superfluous remarks; that, above all, it is averse to any unnecessary manifestation of what is hidden and belongs to the inner sphere ; and that, on the contrary, it reports with the consciousness always awake, that hidden things, be they good or evil, shall not be brought fully to light, until the day of the Lord. But, in order to compensate for this, sacred history keeps the more pointedly and carefully in view all external events, so that that only is communicated in which something internal manifests itself; and even then it is communicated just in such a way as agrees with and reveals what is internal. In this we must farther consider that, for all external things in the domain of sacred history, there is a distinct and definite value and order as regards both matter and form. Now it is true that biblical historiography therefore demands from every one of its interpreters and readers, that, with all self-denial and perfect sympathy, he should place himself in that sphere and territory of life, in and on which this history moves. This, however, is nothing else than what is simply implied in the general belief of the Church in the inspiration of the biblical Books. To him who, with conscientious faithfulness, complies with this demand in reference to the books of sacred history, numberless matters which are ordinarily considered to be accidental, trifling, and merely external will, everywhere, gain spirit and life; they will rise from the grave of the letter, and present themselves like living persons in the eternal history of mankind. Such an attentive eye also will, in

the proper place, never fail to observe that the sacred writer adds, wherever it is necessary, some express sign for the confirmation of his view of the relations and circumstances.

In conformity with these general principles, we easily understand that St Luke, trusting that his readers will know to view in a biblical light the circumstances and relations which accompany the departure of St Paul from Cesarea to Rome, does not find it necessary to make any remark about the Apostle's internal views and disposition in entering upon this great crisis. We cannot, indeed, know which feeling will be the prevailing one,—whether it will be that of joy, or of sorrow; but the facts which the account is to communicate to us will, no doubt, throw light upon this. And here, at the very outset, the circumstance must be remarkable, that, although St Paul is now led to the long wished for object of his Apostolic ministry,—although he is now, as he never was before, freed from the obligation to Israel, and this in order to devote himself, freely and fully, to the Gentiles,—although he is now living for months among heathens of the most various character, and is compelled to have the closest intercourse with them;—it is remarkable that, notwithstanding all this, not a single attempt at the conversion of a heathen is communicated in this section of our history. If joy had prevailed in the heart of St Paul,—joy that, now at length the time had come for the conversion of the Gentiles throughout the whole world, and that he himself had been honoured and chosen to accomplish this great work of God, before which hitherto all the prophets and saints were compelled to stop short;—then, such a keeping back of the Apostolical testimony from the Gentiles could never have taken place for so long a time. And this perception, forced upon us by the facts themselves, is most strikingly confirmed by the closing words of the whole account of the journey. For, at the close of the section under consideration (xxviii. 15), we read: "When Paul saw the brethren from Rome, he thanked God, and took courage." By this gentle, but altogether indubitable hint, St Luke gives us to understand that, on the whole voyage, and up to the moment when, with his own eyes, he saw the Roman brethren, the Apostle had been wanting in courage and confidence (θάρσος). It is only at the close, and at the moment when it is about to be

removed, that St Luke lays open this want; for the encouraging word of the Lord in xxvii. 24 might, after all, very well refer to a momentary fear only. It is this same chaste reserve and silence which caused St Paul to give expression only once or twice in his Epistles to this his deepest grief, although it never left him. The circumstance which restored to St Paul his confident courage, throws, moreover, a light upon the reason of the want of joyful confidence. For the sight of the members of the Roman congregation evidently brought before the Apostle's view the great work which God by means of His Spirit had already begun and founded in the metropolis of the world; and thereby the gracious will of God to put Rome in the place of Jerusalem at once comes before the Apostle's mind in a more lively manner than it had ever before done. He now suddenly sees not only the path to the heights of the world fully opened up; but, on the height, he already sees erected the ensign of Jehovah which the Gentiles shall follow (see Is. xi. 12). The sight, in this journey, of the Roman believers, makes a similar beneficial impression upon the Apostle, as once, at Corinth, was made by the sight of Timothy and Silas (see xviii. 5). We cannot, therefore, doubt that on the whole voyage from Cesarea to the Three Taverns, we must conceive of the Apostle Paul as being in great affliction and depression, not, by any means, on account of his imprisonment and danger in Rome, but because of Israel and Jerusalem; for all the wishes and hopes of his heart for his brethren according to the flesh, which were connected with his journey to Jerusalem, have been so completely frustrated, and now the hand of the Lord must appear to him as being already lifted up for inflicting the final stroke; and his own present journey from Jerusalem to Rome must have appeared to him as a divine sign of this affecting and distressing crisis. In the soul and life of Jonah also, we perceive the same affection and depression; but since, in the Old Testament prophet, they were held and sustained so much by the carnal ground, that the Spirit seems to be altogether bound, Jonah not only appears as entirely unfit for his prophetical office and vocation, but even, in every point of view, perverse and evil, yea, as evidently opposed to the Gentiles. In the Apostle of Christ, the distress because of Israel rests generally and naturally, and hence also at this time and on this occasion, on the foun-

dation of the Spirit; and, therefore, it cannot be to him an obstacle either to his vocation or to his conduct and other doings, in the way of duty. It is true that the striking silence of the preaching of the Gospel among the Gentiles during so long a period cannot fail to be noticed by us; it cannot but appear to us to be strange and remarkable. But, then, is preaching the sole work of the Apostolic office? On the contrary, from the very commencement (see i. 1), and throughout our Book, we have seen that, for the history of Jesus, for the founding and establishing of all that is evangelical and Apostolical, there exists such a connexion of life and action with teaching, that, on this territory, teaching, speaking, preaching, in short, the whole power and importance of the word must always be viewed as depending upon the territory of facts. This we have hitherto found to be especially confirmed in the history of the Apostle Paul. We have seen how his teaching, in its grand fundamental features, as well as in its single details and diversities, has exactly observed and reflected the course of his history and experience, in general as well as in particular. And St Paul plainly regards himself from this point of view. He knows himself, indeed, to be the herald, Apostle, and teacher of the Gentiles (see 1 Tim. ii. 7); but he knows that this, his position and ministry, by means of the word, is founded upon his history and individuality, according to which he, as the chief of sinners, has obtained mercy in order to be a pattern to them who should hereafter believe on Christ to life everlasting (see 1 Tim. i. 15, 16). It is for this reason also that St Paul feels himself occasionally urged to point emphatically not only to his word, but also to his life, as a rule and pattern. Indeed we have seen that he has enjoined upon the pastors of the Church of Christ the imitation of his own conduct and example in the Gentile congregations, as the most efficient means against the danger of the coming seduction (see xx 31, 35, comp. Phil. iii. 17).

Now, since such is the state of St Paul's Apostolic office and vocation, it does not, by any means, follow that, because he did not proclaim the Gospel, his Apostolic ministry was altogether interrupted during this period. According to our view of this period, indeed, such could scarcely be conceived of. For, although his unspeakable grief on account of Israel's obduracy,

and the final departure of the word of mercy from Jerusalem, the city of God, and her being irrevocably given up to the sad fate of a desolation such as the world had never yet seen, does not permit him at once to begin his preaching to the Gentiles, inasmuch as every breath, and every syllable in it, would have been a condemnation of Israel;—yet, the spirit of the new life and of the Apostolical office which uninterruptedly remained with him, urges him on and determines him to such a conduct and line of action, that, even without words, the Apostolic position of St Paul is manifested in a manner not to be mistaken; just as the Apostle Peter also demands of the faithful women that, even without words, they should manifest, by their conduct, the winning spirit of the new life (see 1 Pet. iii. 1, 2). And in this respect the history of Jonah likewise affords us the proper light in which to understand and view the conduct of the Apostle. For, just as in the conduct of the Prophet Jonah, in his mission to the world's city, we recognize the powerful prevalence of the unsubdued flesh; so, in the conduct of the Apostle Paul on his journey from Cesarea to Rome, we recognize an equally powerful prevalence of the Spirit. And as, accordingly, we must recognize, in the carnal conduct of Jonah, the sure sign of his being unable to become the prophet of the Gentiles; so, it cannot escape us that, in the spiritual character of the Apostle Paul, in the midst of the Gentiles, by land and by sea, the Divine seal upon his Apostolic ministry for the Gentiles must be recognized. And in this we see in general, how it was possible for St Luke to persevere in his plan, although, in the section under consideration, he evidently enters, in his account, upon the territory of the outward life. It is now incumbent upon us, however, to show how that which St Luke, so minutely, and, evidently so, from intention, communicates to us regarding the conduct of St Paul on this voyage is fully adapted, from an aspect as important as it is new, to awaken and keep alive in us the conviction of St Paul's Apostolic vocation.

The external sphere, in which the account under consideration almost exclusively moves, is, as we have already remarked, the sea, with all its peculiarities and changes. If, then, this voyage of St Paul be really the right continuation of his Apostolic ministry, we here see, for the first time, how the direction of

sacred history goes out into the sphere of the sea. It is advisedly that we here speak of the direction of sacred history in general; for the history of St Paul is not, by any means, a fragment of sacred history, or some single, isolated branch of it. On the contrary, we have seen that all the rivers and streams of sacred history find their deep bed in the Apostolic life and office of St Paul, in order, like the Okeanos of the ancient Greeks, to flow around the whole circle of countries and nations. Thus we saw St Paul, shortly before this, in his speech before king Agrippa; and in the same light he appears to us now, when we keep in mind that, by his journey to Rome, the essential reference of the history of Israel to the conversion of all the Gentiles to God, is, for the first time, fully realized, after having overcome almost innumerable obstacles. If, then, St Luke's account of the journey really correspond to the undoubted destination and meaning of the journey of St Paul, we here read the right continuation of the history which has taken its rise from the calling of Abraham. And it must, indeed, be looked upon as a very significant event, that the path of sacred history here leads us to the sphere of the sea. It is a path altogether new,—far removed from all the former paths and ways. Whilst, hitherto, sacred history has moved within narrow spheres, and territories which are near, and has, only by way of leaps, gone to some distance, this is the first walk through the world which the sacred pilgrim of God undertakes.

The aim and object of sacred history is, in the first instance, Israel, who have their firm and abiding seat in Canaan. This land, it is true, with its long Western shore, is situated on the sea; but, as long as the completion of Israel only was concerned, this circumstance was, in the meantime, of no importance. For in so far only are the regards everywhere turned away from the Holy Land to the other parts of the world, as the view is held out that all the families and nations of the earth are to be partakers of the blessing of Israel. But the nations to which our attention is directed by the farther course of that history which commences with Abraham, are the nations of the immediate neighbourhood, and, farther off, the people of Egypt. A significant hint pointing to the distant is indeed contained in the expedition of the four kings from the East (see Gen. xiv.); but this

hint pointing to a far distance directs us, as regards the commotion and development of the nations, to the East, and not to the West,—to the great mass of the countries of Asia, and not to the seas, isles, and shores of Europe. And in this way the farther course of history displays itself. The great masses of nations with which Israel is afterwards brought into connexion all come from the interior of the Asiatic countries. But, for this reason, the references to the Western world of nations which very early emerge, and are always viewed in connexion with the sea, must appear so much the more remarkable and important. To these references, especially, belongs the remark of the so called "table of the nations" on the "isles of the Gentiles" (see Gen. x. 5). We at once see from this context, that as Genesis speaks of a multitude and connexion of Gentiles in the East (תִּדְעָל מֶלֶךְ גּוֹיִם, Gen. xiv. 1, 9), so, in the West, on the isles, it conceives likewise of such a group of Gentiles. By naming their territory, the "isles," it designates the West according to that form and appearance which it holds out to the Jews, viz., as sea, isles, and shores. For the addition בְּאַרְצֹתָם shows that, even in this passage, the term אִיִּים is not to be limited to isles in the proper sense. Those Gentiles which the table of the nations mentions on this Western group of isles and countries, are descendants of Japhet, to whom the blessing was given that he should spread far and wide over the earth,—the most original destiny of man (see Gen. ix. 27; comp. Delitzsch zur Genesis S. 209). Even by this circumstance, that among the Japhethites it is those inhabitants and nations of the isles who are, before all others, marked out and distinguished by the table of the nations, it is intimated, with sufficient plainness, that it wishes them to be acknowledged as the bearers of the blessing bestowed upon Japhet, and that, hence, it foresees in them the real subjects of the history of Japhet. Hence, we shall not only say, as Delitzsch does (see l. c. S. 217): "The writer knows more than he says; in that which he says, he is guided by the relative importance of the single families, tribes, and nations, for the history of salvation;" but that the writer says everything which we really need for the exposition of the passage,—namely, that he so much distinguishes the Western Japhethites, because, in them, he recognizes the main subjects of the history of Japhet. No wonder that this hint of the table of the nations is kept in

view in later times also, and that at length it has been fulfilled in history, as everything which is written shall and must be fulfilled.

It was Balaam the prophet from among the Gentiles, whose people and residence were on the Euphrates (see Numb. xxii. 5), who had been called from the mountains of the East (see Numb. xxiii. 7);—it was Balaam to whom, in consequence of his peculiar position with reference to the Gentile world, and the development of the nations, the farther disclosure regarding the historical importance of the West was communicated by the Spirit of Jehovah, with a view to its being announced. Standing on a lofty tower, from which he obtains a far glance into the future commotions of the nations by which Israel is to be affected, he first turns his face towards the East, but, afterwards, towards the West also. In the land of his nativity, on the river Euphrates, and on the mountains of the Armenian highlands, lie the germs of the future events of the history of the nations. Here Nimrod's dominion prevailed. Here he founded Babylon and Nineveh (see Gen. x. 8—12). Here will arise the terrible Asshur who, with his superior power, will turn towards the West; and whom no one will be able to withstand (see Numb. xxiv. 22, 23). But Balaam beholds also the fall of this terrible world's power which comes from the East, not, indeed, as effected immediately by God himself; for he beholds another Empire which victoriously opposes that Eastern power and destroys it:—and that is the Western Empire which, with an evident allusion to the table of the nations, he describes as "ships coming from Chittim or Cyprus" (Numb. xxiv. 24; compare Hengstenberg's History of Balaam S. 199—202.) This Western world's power which, as being the latest and greatest, Balaam, the prophet from among the Gentiles, contrasts with the Eastern one, is therefore intentionally represented as being on the other side of the sea, and, hence, as living on the isles and shores. Now Balaam evidently received the commission to intimate, in its grand outlines, the whole course of the conflict between Israel and the Gentiles. And, since he closes his visions by announcing the destruction of this Western power also, he evidently intends us to view this Western world's power as the last which is to appear on the scene, and with the destruction of which all hostile powers on earth, directed against Israel, are

destroyed; so that now this people, blessed above all others, may, and shall undisturbedly maintain its position and importance. We need not wonder that this prospective view into these conflicts and this progress of the history of the nations remains, for a long time, completely isolated, just as the appearance of Balaam stands also altogether isolated in the Old Testament history. The relation of the Eastern world's powers to Israel is so strongly and irresistibly forced upon the later prophets,—partly by the immediate present, partly by the events immediately impending,—that their attention is entirely engrossed with these relations immediately at hand; and they have scarcely any occasion for looking beyond this sphere of the commotions coming from the East. One seer only of the Old Testament has, like Balaam, been privileged to direct his regards towards the West, and to look into these remotest and last commotions which are destined to take their rise from this opposite part of the earth, after the times of the East have come to a close. This seer is Daniel, who, by the providential guidance of his God, had his residence in the same main points of the history of the Eastern nations, to whom Balaam too belonged by his birth. Moreover, Daniel, when a youth, was initiated into the language and science of the Chaldees, the principal people in the East (see Dan. i. 4); and, when a man, was entrusted with high honours and dignities under various dynasties of the Eastern world's power (see Dan. ii. 48, 49; v. 11, 12; vi. 2, 28). We shall find it so much the more intelligible that to this man again a disclosure of the Future of the Western Empire is committed, that it may be written down and communicated to Israel; and a disclosure, too, far more comprehensive than that which was given to Balaam; inasmuch as it is in the days of Daniel that, for the first time, the kingdom of the world is founded and established in such a manner that, from that time onward, it retains, to the end, an abiding and uninterrupted continuity. Before the prophetic eye of Daniel, the Western Gentile power shows itself quite distinctly as the continuation of the Eastern kingdom of the world; and he designates it by a name which again very plainly reminds us of the allusion of the table of the nations to the isles of the Western world,—namely, by the name of Javan (see Dan. viii. 21; x. 20). Thus, then, the Western world's power again appears in a manner altogether the

same as that in which Balaam had represented it,—namely, as an Empire of isles.' But this idea is still farther maintained and followed out by Daniel. For the Western world's power, which Balaam knows as still one only, is, in the view of Daniel, divided into a two-fold kingdom; just as the Eastern world's power likewise represents itself as two-fold. And the second Western kingdom—the Roman—in the two passages where it comes into contact with the first Western kingdom—the kingdom of Greece—likewise appears as being connected with the isles, with the ships of Chittim (see Dan. xi. 18, 30). From the circumstance that Daniel, in the text last quoted, resumes this peculiar designation of Balaam's in Numb. xxiv. 24, it becomes quite evident that Daniel intends that the fourth, the Roman, kingdom of the world should be considered, geographically, from the same point of view as that from which the kingdom of Javan and the main tribes of Japhet from the first have been considered by Scripture. Thus, by the two prophets who describe the future history of the nations—by Balaam and Daniel—the last periods of the world's history have been transferred to the West, and appear in an essential connection with the sea and the kingdom of the isles. It is true that, in these prophetic utterances, it is the history and the form of the kingdom of the world which is the point in question; but, since the kingdom of the world is a concentration of the Gentiles, the relation of Israel to the Gentiles must, necessarily and substantially, be also a relation to the kingdom of the world; and hence, from this prophetic point of view, the relation of Israel to the blessing and salvation of the Gentiles will always necessarily point to the West, to the sea, and to the isles.

The aspect last touched upon in the Future of the isles, and which, in the account under consideration, meets us in the first instance, and for the first time, has been prominently brought forward chiefly by that prophet who first received a clear and full insight into the necessity of a previous dissolution of Israel before the final salvation could be expected,—namely, by the prophet Isaiah. It is true that this prophet has, in the first instance, to do with the present and threatening world's power—Asshur and Babylon,—a circumstance which results from his whole position. But, in consequence of the history of the beginnings of the

nations' developments, and because of the prophecy of Balaam, so much of the Future is, after all, disclosed to him also,—that in the isles, too, a world's power is resting which would co-operate for the destruction of the people of Israel. Thus, quite in harmony with Gen. x. 5, he conceives of a main power of the Gentiles in the Western isles; and, for this reason, he is fond of the connexion of "isles and nations" (see Is. xl. 15; xli. 1; lix. 18; lxvi. 19.) With this is connected the circumstance, that in the general hostile opposition between Israel and the nations which, according to the view of the prophet, is to take place, the isles appear as taking a considerable share in this hostility against Israel (see Is. xi. 11; lix. 18). Although Isaiah does not declare it with the clearness and distinctness of Balaam and Daniel, yet so much may very well be gathered from these intimations:—that he likewise conceives of the last development of the heathen world's power as taking place in the isles, after—this he always holds up to view—the power of Nineveh and Babylon shall be broken. On the other hand, as regards the isles, it is peculiar to this prophet to declare, expressly and prominently, a feature to which these others, as we have seen, only allude,—namely, the view of the conversion of the isles to Jehovah,—a subject on which Isaiah has, several times, and with especial predilection, enlarged (see Is. xxiv. 14, 15; xlii. 4, 10, 12; xlix. 1; li. 5; lx. 9). And it is just this precedent of the great Isaiah, by which his successors in the prophetic office have allowed themselves to be taught (see Jer. xxx. 10; Zeph. ii. 11).

From all this, it is sufficiently evident that, even under the Old Testament, Israel recognized, not only generally, but clearly and distinctly, their Divine destination and prophetical calling for the lands of the isles,—for the Western lands of Europe. It is, then, no doubt also in consequence of that universal position which makes Israel the centre of the development of the nations, that Israel's land stood open to the sea also, and had, hence, a natural intimation that their task pointed to the West (see v. Raumer's Palaestina, S. 373—376). Originally, and according to the first Divine arrangement, this indication was still more distinct than afterwards, in consequence of the defective manner in which Israel carried out the Divine will, it could appear to be. The real front which the track of the shores of Syria and Pales-

tine turns towards the sphere of the Isles and the West, is that part over which Phœnicia afterwards extended; for here, in ancient times, were the best harbours,—harbours now, indeed, filled up with sand. The oldest and most celebrated harbour and sea-town was Sidon, which not only belonged to the country of Canaan (Gen. x. 19), but was also adjudicated and portioned out to the people of God (see Gen xlix. 13; Josh. xix. 28). From the circumstance that Israel's land was to extend to the harbour of great Sidon, the people of God were directed to acquire the produce and the riches of the sea, as is distinctly declared by both Jacob and Moses (see Gen. xlix. 13; Deut. xxxiii. 19). But, in this respect as well as in many others, Israel has not fulfilled his task. Israel did not conquer Sidon (see Judg. i. 31),—and thus has forfeited the most important point of connexion with the West (see Jerem. xxv. 22; Ezek. xxvi. 15; xxvii. 3). But from this it appears beyond any doubt that if Israel, in consequence of it, remained in ignorance of the sea and isles, this is one of the many signs that Israel did not attain to its completion in the Old Testament time. The circumstance that Israel, in the Old Testament time, kept aloof from the sea is, according to this context, the outward manifestation of the inability of the people of God to discharge, at that time, their duty towards the Gentiles, and especially towards the Gentiles of the kingdom of the Isles. The circumstance, also, that the two cases in which Israel ventured out into the sea are expressly mentioned in the sacred historical books (see 1 Kings ix. 26, 27; x. 11; xxii. 49; 2 Chron. xx. 35—37) likewise proves that the relation of Israel to the sea is essentially connected with the destiny of this people. The nautical enterprizes of Solomon served, no doubt, for the enriching and glorification of his kingdom and reign, and have, thereby, a vast importance for the completion of the Israelitish kingdom; but, according to the original destination, this navigation ought to have been undertaken independently,—a circumstance which we see most clearly from the fact that it is accomplished by the help of Hiram only, the king of the Sidonians (see 1 Kings iii. 6), and, hence, with the help of that seafaring nation which had been assigned to Israel as a conquest and property. But, on the other hand, the expedition by sea, which Jehoshaphat intended to undertake with Israelitish strength

exclusively, failed from the very outset,—as a sign that Israel could as little let the sea altogether alone, as they were able to subdue it. But the land-fleeing prophet Jonah's unfortunate voyage from Joppa, shows most plainly that, during the Old Testament time, Israel's place is not yet on the sea. Hence, during this period of his preparation, Israel must be content to enlarge his knowledge of the world,—a knowledge which was destined to comprehend everything,—not by his own experience, but by appropriating the knowledge and communications which came from other quarters; so that, in such an indirect manner, he became acquainted with the sea, and, also, with its peculiarities. That such was done in an admirable way, is shown by the glorious description in Ps. cvii. 23—32.

In our present context, and especially also with a distinct regard to the account under consideration, it must, however, not be overlooked, that a peculiar view of the nature of the sea which, in Scripture, we find distinctly expressed, will put in a still clearer light that relation of Israel to the sea and isles which we have pointed out. For, according to Scripture, the sea is the original chaotic water which has been embanked, and the roaring deep of the original water is, as we have already remarked (comp. remarks on xxvi. 18), the manifestation of the evil, destructive powers on earth. Now, it is true that, by the word and work of the third day of creation, this chaotic original power is reduced to order, and placed, as the sea, among the good works of God. But, with very evident intention, it is more than once pointed out, that the embankment of the sea must be conceived of as the victory over an original destructive power (see Prov. viii. 27, 28; Ps. xxxiii. 7; civ. 7; Job. xxxviii. 8—11). The waters of the sea are, accordingly, still the very same waters which, as a roaring abyss, in the beginning made the earth a wilderness;—only, that at present they are embanked by the firm shores, just as the original darkness has, by the order of the heavenly lights, been changed into night. But, since the whole work of creation is intended for, and has in view, man, everything will be finally determined by the conduct of man; and as long only as man himself continues to be good, the works of creation also will, firmly and abidingly, continue to be good, and the evil powers on earth to be bound. But as soon as man falls from his destination, the

divine word of creation which maintains the world, and arranges it into a sphere of life and blessing, will be relaxed, and the destructive powers will again invade the sphere of life and blessing. Thus, the embanked sea is again changed into the dreadful and powerful original deep (Gen. vii. 11), as soon as the measure of man's sin has been filled up. Thus, the security which by the word of creation had been placed around the shores of the sea, has been undermined by the sin of man; and the sea, in its easily aroused disquietude and destructiveness, extinguishing all life, again manifests that character which, originally and at the very first, belonged to it. Hence, to Old Testament view, the sea appears as the disquieted, raging, turbulent element (see Job vii. 12), as the image of sin, restless and always, in its innermost foundation, disquieted and driven about (see רָשַׁע, Is. lvii. 20). But, just as the sea is a power surrounding the whole earth, so there is also a similar appearance of restless and wildly raging sin surrounding all mankind; and that is the power of the Gentiles raging over the earth (see Is. viii. 7, 8; xvii. 12; Rev. xvii. 1, 15). For this reason, the place also from which the beasts of the heathen world's power rise, is just the raging sea (see Dan. vii. 2, 3; Rev. xiii. i); and, for the same reason, it must disappear when, by God's grace and judgment, the raging of all heathens shall be stilled (see Rev. xx. 1). Since then the sea is, in Scripture, viewed in this light, two things which have already come out, are thereby rendered still more clear. In the first place, we now understand more easily why Israel, during the Old Testament time, did not take possession of the sea, although such was his destination; for if the sea be the cosmic manifestation of the sin of mankind, then the victory over sin must be accomplished before the submission of the sea can take place. But the whole Old Testament history bears witness that Israel under the Old Covenant did not overcome sin, but ever and anon fell under the power of it. The second point which, by the view of the sea which we have indicated, is made obvious to us, is the idea of the connexion of the heathen power with the Isles. For, it is just when the sea is the natural form of the wildly raging and turbulent heathen multitude, that we can account for the fact, that the last and chief display of the

heathen world's power was transferred to the Isles in the sea, and at the other side of the sea.

The more significant and remarkable, therefore, it must appear to us, that Israel kept back from the sea, the greater importance we must assign to the departure of the Apostle Paul from Cesarea; inasmuch as its whole object and aim is nothing else than to bear testimony to the Divine truth at Rome, the centre of the last heathen power in the Isles. We now see, not only that the relation of Israel to the heathen world, which hitherto had been constantly forced into the background, opens up, in its whole extent, without any limitation; but we see also why it is, that this great crisis in the history of Israel is connected with a voyage. And should not even here a light arise to show us why it is that St Luke tries to hold us fast with so much circumstantiality, just at this form in which this great crisis is introduced and accomplished? Should not, indeed, this great minuteness in the account of the voyage and of its various events, even to the minutest details which appear, at first sight, to be mere accidents, make an impression altogether strange, specially when taken in connexion with the other contents of the book? May it not rather have been intended and designed, in the clear and steady consciousness of the connexion of the whole of the sacred history?

After the preceding consideration of the Old Testament background, I trust that no one will any longer maintain, that it must be considered as a circumstance altogether accidental that the men whom the Lord chooses as His fit instruments for His work, are acquainted with the life and work on the sea, and that thereby it is brought about, that the sacred history, which, under the Old Testament, does not yet know to report anything particular regarding Israel's contact with the sea, at once proceeds, as soon as it passes over to New Testament territory, in a significant manner to the territory of the sea. It is in this way that it becomes manifest that the anointed King of Israel commands the wind and the sea (see Luke viii. 25); that the living creatures which pass through the paths of the sea (see Ps. viii. 9) are not hidden from His eyes (see Matt. xvii. 24—27), and follow His beckoning (see Luke v. 4—11; John xxi. 1—14); that the waves of the agitated sea are to His foot like beaten paths (see

Mark vii. 47—52). These New Testament phenomena are not, by any means, equivalent to the Old Testament miracles which were performed upon the waters of the sea and of the Jordan (see Exod. xiv; Josh. ii.; 2 Kings ii. 8). It is true that, in these miracles also, the conquering of the sea, is the point at issue; but this conquering still appears as pre-eminently and altogether effected by Divine causation which connects itself with the staff of Moses, with the Ark of the Covenant, and with the garment of the prophet. Moses himself, however, has not yet united his person to this Divine miraculous power. But in the conduct of our Lord towards the sea, this union of the Divine and human causation in one person appears. For, as in His whole life, so here, the foundation is none else but His human nature. He, as the author and finisher of faith, penetrates this His human nature with the full measure of faith, and thus renders it a partaker of that power and dominion which, from the very beginning, have been granted to it by God. In such strength of faith, He gives himself up to sleep in the midst of the stormy sea (see Matt. viii. 24). In such strength of faith, He walks on the turbulent flood; and it is only because St Peter is destitute of the same immoveable firmness of faith, that he is unable to do the same (see Matt. xiv. 31). Here we have, for the first time, the fact of the complete victory over the sea in all its impetuosity; here, for the first time, is that task fulfilled which, in reference to the sea, has been assigned to the whole people of Israel. In this fact, then, the firm centre also has been found to which everything must connect itself which has been farther committed to the people of Israel on this territory. For this fact in the life of our Lord must now be regarded as the abiding point of commencement; but not, by any means, as the completion of the whole. And this is indicated with sufficient clearness by the circumstance, that all these events have taken place, not in the great Western Sea, behind, and in which the Isles and western lands are situated; but on the Sea of Galilee, the Sea of Chinnereth, which, in the Old Testament, has been scarcely thought worthy of mention (see v. Raumer Palaestina, S. 50, 51). In so far as the Lake of Gennesareth is a sea, we have here the real victory of man over the sea, which hitherto we wanted; but in so far as this sea is only a small lake, we have

here only a small beginning in the form of a germ, for the display of which we are called to look. Nor does Jesus omit to point out, that the outward employment of the disciples with the sea and the fish of the sea has a connexion with their future vocation of extending and continuing the work of Christ (see Luke v. 10). But the Apostles of Israel, as regards their relation to the sea, still go on in the same way as did the people of Israel in the whole of the Old Testament time. The original Apostles as little came into contact with the sea, as they devoted themselves to the conversion of the Gentiles. At least, sacred history makes no mention of anything having been done, although, perhaps, it may have been; and it thereby clearly intimates that in the life and ministry of the twelve apostles we have not to expect or to look for the continuation of the preparation of Israel, or of the commencement made by Jesus in the direction pointed out. But with so much the greater certainty may we see that this continuation is given in the history of the Apostle of the Gentiles. Him we have already found twice placed on different parts of the great Western Sea, under circumstances which indicate very distinctly an important progress in the history of salvation,—and that just in the direction brought into view,—first in Seleucia (see xiii. 4), then in Troas (see xvi. 8—10); and his voyage across the sea has, on both of these occasions, shewn precisely the great and decisive results in the Gentile world which, according to these intimations, we could not avoid expecting. Now we see him placed, a third time, on the sea; and it appears, both from the place of his departure and that of his destination, that now we should conceive of all which has preceded as concentrated into one point;—for now the Apostle sails immediately from the land of Israel, and his destination is the centre of the West.

If, then, such be the significance and position of the departure of the Apostle Paul from Cesarea, in the connection of the whole history of salvation, must we not say that St Luke, just by representing this in the light of a real voyage,—that is, of a victory over the great sea,—assigns the right position to this event; and that he thereby proves himself to be guided by that Spirit who in sacred history is He who guides and urges on, who determines and counsels? That which, at first sight, appeared strange

to our eye, now corresponds to our thoughts and expectations. We had, formerly, occasion to remark, that St Luke communicates with special intention the details of a voyage of St Paul. At that place (see xx. 13—16; xxi. 1—7) it was done with the express purpose of showing, in a very graphic way, that St Paul was, in his journey to Jerusalem, returning from the world of the Isles. If then we correctly stated the reason for the many nautical expressions, it follows as a matter of course that, in the section now under consideration, St Luke must make this peculiarity appear still more strikingly. This indeed is the case, and in order to convince ourselves that this peculiarity really appears as strongly and characteristically as, according to these preliminary remarks, we are entitled to expect, we shall here give a summary of these words, phrases, and sentences which in this respect are peculiar. In the account of the voyage under consideration the following nautical expressions occur:—*ἀποπλεῖν*, xxvii. 1; *πλεῖν*, ver. 2; *πλέον*, ver. 6; *πλοίῳ Ἀδραμυττηνῷ*, ver. 2; *πλοῖον Ἀλεξανδρῖνον*, ver. 6; *ἀνήχθημεν*, ver. 2; *κατήχθημεν*, ver. 3; *ἀναχθέντες*, ver. 4; *ὑπεπλεύσαμεν*, ver. 4; *πέλαγος*, *διαπλεύσαντες*, ver. 5; *βραδυπλοοῦντες*, *ὑπεπλεύσαμεν*, ver. 7; *παραλεγόμενοι*, *Καλοὺς Λιμένας*, ver. 8; *ζημιὰ τοῦ φορτίου καὶ τοῦ πλοίου*, *τὸν πλοῦν*, ver. 10; *τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ τῷ ναυκλήρῳ*, ver. 11; *παραχειμάσαι*, ver. 12; *ἄραντες*, *παρελέγοντο*, ver. 13; *ἀνάγεσθαι*, ver. 21; *τοῦ πλοίου*, ver. 22; *διαφερομένων ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ*, ver. 27; *ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ*, ver. 31; *σχοινία τῆς σκάφης*, ver. 32; *ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ*, ver. 37; *εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν*, ver. 38; *ἐκκολυμβήσας*, ver. 42; *τοὺς δυναμένους κολυμβᾶν*, ver. 43; *ἐπὶ σανίσιν*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου*, ver. 44; *ἡ νῆσος*, xxviii. 1; *τῆς θαλάσσης*, ver. 4; *ἀνήχθημεν*, ver. 11; *καταχθέντες*, ver. 12; *ἐπιγενομένου Νότου*, ver 13. Of phrases of that kind we remark the following: *διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀνέμους εἶναι ἐναντίους*, xxvii. 4; *ἐνεβίβασεν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον*, ver. 6; *μὴ προσεῶντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου*, ver. 7; *ὄντος ἤδη ἐπισφαλοῦς τοῦ πλοός*, ver. 9; *ἀνευθέτου δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ὑπάρχοντος πρὸς παραχειμασίαν*, ver. 12; *λιμένα τῆς Κρήτης βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον*, ver. 12; *ὑποπνεύσαντος δὲ νότου*, ver. 13; *ἄνεμος τυφωνικὸς*, *ὁ καλούμενος Εὐροκαλύδων*, ver. 14; *ὑποζωννύντες τὸ πλοῖον*, ver. 17; *εἰς νῆσον δέ τινα ἡμᾶς ἐκπεσεῖν*, ver. 26; *ὑπενόουν οἱ ναῦται προσάγειν τινὰ αὐτοῖς χώραν*, ver. 27; *ἐκούφιζον τὸ πλοῖον*, ver. 38. Of whole sen-

tences of these contents the following occur: *συναρπασθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλοίου, καὶ μὴ δυναμένου ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τῷ ἀνέμῳ, ἐπιδόντες ἐφερόμεθα*, xxvii. 15; *νησίον δέ τι ὑποδραμόντες καλούμενον Κλαύδην, μόλις ἰσχύσαμεν περικρατεῖς γενέσθαι τῆς σκάφης*, ver. 16; *ἣν ἄραντες βοηθείαις ἐχρῶντο, ὑποζωννύντες τὸ πλοῖον· φοβούμενοί τε μὴ εἰς τὴν Σύρτιν ἐκπέσωσι, χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος, οὕτως ἐφέροντο*, ver. 17; *σφοδρῶς δὲ χειμαζομένων ἡμῶν, τῇ ἐξῆς ἐκβολὴν ἐποιοῦντο*, ver. 18; *καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ αὐτόχειρες τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ πλοίου ἐρρίψαμεν*, ver. 19; *μήτε δὲ ἡλίου, μήτε ἄστρων ἐπιφαινόντων ἐπὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας, χειμῶνός τε οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐπικειμένου, λοιπὸν περιῃρεῖτο πᾶσα ἐλπὶς τοῦ σώζεσθαι ἡμᾶς*, ver. 20; *ὅτε δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐπεγίνωσκον· κόλπον δέ τινα κατενόουν ἔχοντα αἰγιαλὸν, εἰς ὃν ἐβουλεύσαντο, εἰ δύναιντο, ἐξῶσαι τὸ πλοῖον*, ver. 39; *καὶ τὰς ἀγκύρας περιελόντες εἴων εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἅμα ἀνέντες τὰς ζευκτηρίας τῶν πηδαλίων καὶ ἐπάραντες τὸν ἀρτέμονα τῇ πνεούσῃ κατεῖχον εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν*, ver. 40; *περιπεσόντες δὲ εἰς τόπον διθάλασσον, ἐπώκειλαν τὴν ναῦν· καὶ ἡ μὲν πρῶρα ἐρείσασα ἔμεινεν ἀσάλευτος, ἡ δὲ πρύμνα ἐλύετο ὑπὸ τῆς βίας τῶν κυμάτων*, ver. 41; *μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας ἀνήχθημεν ἐν πλοίῳ παρακεχειμακότι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Ἀλεξανδρίνῳ, παρασήμῳ Διοσκούροις*, xxviii. 11.

In the whole range of literature there will scarcely be found a section, so small comparatively, in which so many nautical words, phrases, and sentences occur as in that which is now under review. That which we have formerly found ourselves induced frequently to remark, and which has lately been pointed out by others also (see Zeitschrift für Protestantismus, 1852, Mayheft, S. 308), – namely, that St Luke in his account is remarkable for an objective treatment of his different materials—is here seen in a very eminent degree. An experienced Englishman who has lately undertaken, with special interest and great care, to inquire into the technical part of this account of the voyage, gives it as his opinion that the account and representation make altogether the impression that the writer was a most faithful and careful eye witness; without, however, having any professional acquaintance with navigation and nautical affairs (see James Smith, The Voyage and Shipwreck of St Paul, London, 1848, p. xix., xx., 7—9). Now, since we know that St Luke has so assiduously applied himself to this peculiarity of representation for this rea-

son, that the direction towards the sea forms an essential and characteristic feature in the contents of the account under consideration :—we find ourselves as much disposed as enabled to follow the sacred historian in these details of his representation and account, as far as it is necessary and profitable for the unity and course of the development of the whole which we have here to follow.

At the very beginning, St Luke points out that St Paul, with the other prisoners, was delivered to a centurion (see xxvii. 1). That this remark is of some importance to him, we see from the circumstance, that he not only notices the name of the man, but also the name of his cohort: Both of the names are as genuinely Roman as the name Cornelius, and the "Italian cohort" (see x. 1). We are not now under the necessity of simply assuming, with Grotius, that the name of the legion had been transferred to the cohort. We now know from the Roman military inscriptions published by Kellermann, that even the cohorts had their names (see Vömel im Frankfurter Schulprogramme, 1850, S. 7). As, therefore, the cohort of the centurion Cornelius, was called the Italian cohort, so, that of the centurion Julius, was called Augustus' cohort. Whilst thus the proper name of the centurion reminds us of Caesar, the name of his cohort points to Augustus, and to the imperial dynasty. That which the centurion is *per se* in consequence of his position, viz., a perfect representative of Roman manners, and the Roman Empire, is, by these names, still more distinctly designated and represented. From many signs which cannot be mistaken, we were obliged to infer that the ordinances and constitution of the Roman empire were, in the present, favourable to the advancement of the kingdom of Christ, and, especially, to the cause of St Paul. But this was most decidedly manifested to us by the circumstance, that it was the Roman military power—this really fundamental power of the Roman Empire—which delivered the Apostle Paul, at the moment of the most threatening danger of death, out of the hands of the murderous Jews, and guarded and protected him from the still existing danger of death ; so that the military tribune, Lysias, with his legion garrisoning the Castle of Antonia, afforded to St Paul the only possible deliverance and security during his last stay at Jerusalem. Accord-

ingly, we shall here also, where St Luke so expressly marks the circumstance of the Apostle's having been delivered up to the military power, think rather of sure protection, than of strict and burdensome surveillance. And so, indeed, it turns out to be. Even at the first harbour where the vessel touched, St Luke mentions the kind treatment which St Paul experienced from the centurion (see ver. 3); and afterwards, it is again the centurion who more than once employs his official power according to the mind, and in favour, of St Paul (see ver. 31, 32—43). We perhaps owe it also to the kindness of this military officer, who might appeal to the example of the Procurator (see xxiv. 23), that Aristarchus of Thessalonica in Macedonia, and St Luke, were permitted to accompany St Paul (ver. 2). By these companions, the advantage arising to the whole Christian Church from the whole experience and conduct of St Paul on this remarkable voyage, was communicated to the congregations in the safest and most expeditious way; and, even to this day, we owe to this circumstance the graphic, autoptic account of this voyage by St Luke.

With what exceeding care St Luke intends to enter into the minutest circumstances of this voyage, he at once indicates by communicating, at the very commencement of his account, the information which he had acquired regarding the country to which belonged the vessel in which they embarked in the harbour of Cesarea. For, although it may, after all, remain uncertain what harbour is meant by the ambiguous name of *Ἀδραμύττιον* (ver. 2; see Wetstein on this passage); the communication of it shows, at all events, the view which St Luke has, from the very outset, taken of the whole voyage, and in which he wishes it to be considered by his readers also. If then St Luke farther mentions, as the first station, the harbour of Sidon, and relates that, by the kindness of the commander, Paul received permission to communicate with the Christian brethren in this place, and to claim their assistance in the inconveniences of the voyage (ver. 3);—I trust that I may, after the preceding discussion, reckon on assent, if I believe that, even in this apparent accident, a reference to the whole import of the voyage must be recognized. According to the first mention of Scripture, Sidon was the first-born of Canaan (see Gen. x. 15). For this reason, as we have just seen, the harbour of Sidon was originally destined

for Israel; and it was by this principal harbour that the people of God were to perform their task for the sea and the lands of the Isles. But Israel, with their courage and faith, did not penetrate to Sidon, and hence, had to keep at a distance from the sea and the Isles. The King of Israel, indeed, afterwards had an alliance with the King of the Sidonians (1 Kings v. 6); and at once it was possible for Israel to navigate the sea, even to the most distant shores. But this appropriation of the Sidonian advantages did not rest upon any firm foundation. It was from the centre of the Sidonians that, afterwards, Jezebel came who completed the abomination of idolatry in Israel. But how different is it now! The prisoner St Paul enters the Sidonian territory, accompanied, probably, by a Roman warrior. Here there is neither king David in his warlike glory, nor king Solomon in the splendour of his world-embracing wisdom; and yet the Israelite, unassuming and a prisoner, may calculate with safety upon the friendship of the Sidonians; and it appears that he has not been mistaken. The friendship between St Paul and the Sidonians, indeed, was much more thorough and cordial than was the friendship between the kings of Israel and the king of Tyre, who was the king of the Sidonians. Now, therefore, Israel has in reality entered Sidon; not, however, with carnal weapons, but with the weapons of the Spirit. Nor is it Israel manifest, but Israel hidden, which dwells here, and at once recognizes and honors the great Apostle of the Lord, in the humble prisoner. If then Sidon, the great city of the Canaanites, the oldest harbour of the world, is taken possession of by Israel, it is no wonder that Israel now goes out into the sea, and fulfils his prophetic calling on the Isles. It is true that this nautical expedition and this prophetic office of Israel are as unpretending as that taking possession of Sidon; but both are, nevertheless, none the less true and real; and it is just because these facts contain the deep, hidden, spiritual foundation which, in the future, is to display itself and come to light, that they have here been written down by the pen of the Holy Spirit. Whether it be likewise from such consciousness of the oneness of sacred history that the isle of Cyprus is mentioned, under the shores of which they sailed past (ὑπεπλεύσαμεν, ver. 4, see Vömel l. c.); or whether this be an isolated feature which originated in, and can be explained from

the anxiety to be scrupulously exact and minute, must, I think, be left undecided. There is no question, however, that Cyprus may be placed in the same general point of view; for since the Old Testament name of that island is כִּתִּים (see Hengstenberg's Balaam, S. 192—202), this island is marked out as the advanced post of the kingdom of the Isles, in these two main passages of Old Testament prophecy which direct attention to the contact between the lands of the Isles, and the East. The great soldier of the heavenly king of Israel passes by this advanced post in the consciousness that, in the conversion of the Roman Procurator, Sergius Paulus (see xiii. 12), he had erected there the first trophy of his ministry to the Gentiles. It is impossible to conceive otherwise than that St Paul, at the sight of the isle of Cyprus, should, in passing by, have called back to lively recollection this his first Apostolic deed, and hence made Aristarchus and St Luke also partakers in these thoughts and feelings. But in such a case it was, at all events, very natural, considering the direction which the thoughts of the Apostolic men took during the whole voyage, that the significance of Old Testament Chittim should enter their minds.—Henceforth the traces are being lost, which, by single names, pointed back to the Old Testament past history, and which were always keeping alive the consciousness of the intimate connexion of the present voyage with the whole of sacred history. We meet, indeed, with a great abundance of single names; but they all show that we are on the great and wide ocean which has so often and so emphatically been pointed out by the Old Testament as a territory, still strange and unconquered, but to be overcome at some future time. Even by the circumstance that these names, which describe this territory from every aspect, have, by St Luke, been written down and embodied in the records of sacred history, it is established that this territory has, from its Old Testament distance and strangeness, entered into the light of the New Testament Present and view. We shall, in the farther progress of this voyage, still have occasion to see in what light we have to consider this carefulness and exactness manifested by St Luke in describing the localities of the sea and their particulars,—a carefulness and exactness which nowhere else occur in sacred history.

After the direction in which they sailed from Cyprus has been most exactly stated in the words: τό τε πέλαγος τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν διαπλεύσαντες, the landing in a harbour of Lycia, named Myra, is reported. This sea-port, the ruins of which, according to a description to which Smith l. c. p. 30 refers, still bear witness to its former splendour and wealth, must be considered as the place for which the ship from Adramyttium was bound; for all the men are now transferred to another ship of Alexandria (ver. 6). With this change, the voyage too acquires another character. The ship of Adramyttium had its destination to the shore of Asia; and therefore, the direction of the voyage was not yet entirely away from the East, as long as St Paul continued in that ship. And as Smith, p. 30, rightly conjectures, it is connected with this circumstance, that hitherto the voyage has proceeded, without any danger and obstacle, to its provisional destination. But as soon as they have entered the ship of Alexandria, which has come from a far distance, and has, for her destination, Italy, the mainland in the West, at once the difficulties and inconveniences of a voyage begin. Their course was, in the first instance, directed to Crete: but, on account of contrary winds, it goes slowly past Cnidus, and under the Eastern point of Crete, where Salmone is situated (see Vömel, l. c.). By proceeding upon the foundation of the experience that, in the latter part of summer, the north-west wind prevails on this sea, and by referring to exact accounts of voyages from ancient, as well as from most modern times, Smith (l. c. p. 36—40) shows that the description of the course which we find here corresponds exactly to the circumstances. After having hardly, and with some difficulty, sailed round the Eastern point of Crete, they touch at the Fair Havens (Καλοὺς Λιμένας), near the city of Lasea (ver. 8). According to what has gone before, this harbour must necessarily be situated on the South side of the island; and, according to Smith (p. 44), Richard Pococke has found and described a locality on that side of the island which exactly corresponds to the representation in the passage before us (comp. Vömel, l. c.).

Much time had, meanwhile, elapsed, and the day of the fast which, according to the Jewish mode of calculation, was the tenth of the month Tisri (see Levit. xvi. 29; xxiii. 27; Reland

Antiq. p. 457, 458; P. A. Boysen de difficili Pauli itinere in Syll. Diss. ii. 730—732) had passed. St Luke means thereby to intimate that the period of the Autumnal Equinox was past (see Ideler Chronologie i. 492—494), and therefore, the period when, according to the views and customs of the Western nations, navigation had to cease (see Wetstein ad v. 9; Voss, zu Virgil's Landbau S. 127, 87, 88). It was, nevertheless, the intention of the master of the ship to leave the harbour which he had found, and to commit himself to the wintry sea. The ship of Alexandria has an interest in coming with her cargo of corn (see xxvii. 38) to Italy as soon as possible, and before winter sets in; and therefore they are resolved to risk the late voyage. We now find that St Paul, under these circumstances, appears with an admonitory speech, and represents the great danger and hazard of such an undertaking. We may well wonder at this appearance of the captive Apostle to the Gentiles; for what business has he to meddle with these things? No one will have been desirous of knowing his opinion; and, with respect to his Divine calling, it concerned the proclamation of the Gospel to the Gentiles, but not their instruction in navigation and such like subjects. St Paul, moreover, might, as far as these things were concerned, have set his mind completely at rest, and have left them to those to whom they were entrusted; and this so much the rather, that the sure promise had been given to him by the Lord, that he should reach Rome (see xxiii. 11). Has, then, this admonitory speech not, at first sight, the appearance, as if he were rashly interfering in a matter in which he had no concern, and as if he were disquieted, and working for himself where the Lord had beforehand taken all the care upon himself? But still more must we be astonished that St Luke has thought it worth while to communicate to us this speech of St Paul on navigation, whilst he has passed over in silence the fact that St Paul, by his preaching, founded Churches in Galatia, and does not tell us by what discourses St Paul has gained over for the Lord a great people in Corinth.

But the more strange that this phenomenon appears to us, the more we shall be convinced that here we possess the key to the secret of the whole section under consideration. We need not, indeed, spend much time in seeking for the real ground of this

strange speech of Paul, and for the reason of its having been communicated;—it is expressed with sufficient clearness by the manner in which the speech is worded. For, by expressing his care, not only for the preservation of the souls in the ship, but also for the safety of the cargo, and of the ship itself, St Paul gives us to understand that he feels himself altogether identified with the community among which he has at present been placed. This feeling of communion is also sufficiently expressed by the addition of ἡμῶν to τῶν ψυχῶν; and from a later utterance (ver. 26), we see that this feeling is not a momentary ebullition, but permanent. St Luke has, of course, faithfully followed the Apostle in this view; and we have then the most emphatic testimony in the statement of the whole number of the men in the vessel. This whole number St Luke, in ver. 37, states thus, that by using the first person of the plural ἦμεν he places the whole number of soldiers, sailors, and prisoners, with the Apostle Paul and his two companions, under the view of communion and fellowship. In this declaration, we recognize a sure indication of St Paul's disposition of mind during the voyage. The circumstance that, on the sea, he preached to the Gentiles the Word of God as little as Jonah formerly did, we explain from his sorrow over Israel's obduracy and impending punishment, which the Apostle feels as strongly as once did the prophet. But Jonah gave himself up in a carnal manner to that sorrow; and for that reason he withdrew within himself, and, in silent indifference, left the whole company of his fellow-travellers, along with the ship, to their fate. Whilst, in the tempest and storm, all prayed and wrought, Jonah lay in deep sleep, in the sides of the ship. But St Paul feels that sorrow over Israel in a spiritual manner; for, according to the flesh, he is dead and buried with Christ. But the same Spirit which causes him to feel unspeakable grief on account of Israel's judgment, at the same time unceasingly directs him to the Gentiles. Although, therefore, he cannot bring himself to proclaim the Gospel to the Gentiles, from his grief that all preaching in the ears of that people, called to be the prophets of the world, has been in vain,—for there is a time to speak, and a time to keep silence,—yet so much the more will the Spirit suggest some other method in which his turning to the Gentiles may, and must be proved and made manifest. If

Jonah, outwardly, and by deeds, shows himself to the Gentiles as one still affected with the selfishness of his people, St Paul as evidently proves himself to be redeemed and delivered from the carnal disposition of his people.

Joseph once, in the land of Egypt, became an Egyptian, like all others of the same country and people; but this communion with the Gentiles took place when the wall of separation betwixt Israel and the Gentiles had not yet been set up by the law. At a later period, even where there is the most decided willingness to enter into the communion of the Gentiles, we find external obstacles which do not admit of a complete settlement. Thus, in the case of Daniel, the custom of praying three times a day with the face turned towards Jerusalem is in his way; and, in the case of Mordecai, it is the custom of not granting to any man the sign of worship. St Paul, too, is born under the law; but, through the law, he died to the law (see Gal. ii. 19); and therefore he is free from the law, and can give himself up to the Gentiles without reserve, and become as one without law to the Gentiles that are without law (see 1 Cor. ix. 21)—just as formerly Joseph had done in Egypt—without being obliged, like Joseph, to forget his father's house (see Gen. xli. 51). For it is because St Paul lives and walks in the Spirit, that he can continually feel sorrow for Israel, and, at the same time, become a Gentile to the Gentiles. As soon, therefore, as St Paul has entered the vessel which is destined to carry him from the land of Israel to Rome, he feels deeply in his soul that, with all his love, he is directed to all his fellow travellers. For, notwithstanding all their difference from himself and from each other, they are all members of those nations and tongues for whom he knows himself to be called as the Apostle and teacher of the Gentiles, and for the whole period immediately at hand, he is to live with them in close contact and communion. In addition to this, it could not escape the spiritual eye of the Apostle, that in the vessel in which he was traversing the great sea, the world of the Roman Empire, to which he was directed with his ministry and love, was represented, as to all its main divisions, within a small compass. At the head of the whole multitude in the ship stood the centurion, Julius, of the cohors Augusta, a representative of the Roman Emperor. The soldiers under his immediate command

represent the Roman legions. The master and crew of the Alexandrian ship represent the subjects of the Roman empire. And, finally, the captives—probably Jews—are a sign of the Roman dominion over the world, and of the destruction of the kingdom of Israel. Besides these various representatives of the Roman world, St Paul, with his two companions, is also in the ship. Outwardly, in his descent and position at that moment, this St Paul is just like the captive Jews; but, inwardly, he is distinguished from them by his having become a subject of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and by his having thereby obtained—what he had not on earth—*απολίτευμα* in heaven (see Phil. iii. 20). In this respect, his two companions are like him; although, by their descent and language, they belong to the others. But they consider the communion of the heavenly kingdom to be of higher value and importance than the communion in language and nationality. For this reason, they join themselves decidedly to the captive Apostle from among the Jews, while the captive Jews have no communion with the Apostle. Thus the Roman empire is here represented to us within a narrow compass; but, from the circumstance of its being in the vessel on the unsafe sea, the insecurity and dangerous condition of the whole position of the then world is intimated. And if this insecurity and dangerous condition can be counterbalanced in any way, it is by the circumstance, that the Apostle and his two companions share the same insecurity and dangerous condition, while, at the sametime, they have their firm stand in the heavenly kingdom. This view, which was so very obvious, could not fail to suggest to the Apostle and his friends the duty of taking cognizance of, and keeping in view, their whole general position towards the Gentiles, and the salvation of the Gentiles, in their conduct towards these representatives of the Roman empire. Should they now seek to instruct the inmates of the ship, from the centurion down to the last captive, by the preaching of Christ? Or, did there not rather exist a more comprehensive solution of their immediate duty? Was it not rather the most immediate, and, at the same time, the most effective mode of discharging this duty, that they identified themselves with them, and entered into a communion of life with them; so that this Gentile world could not perish, unless the Apostle to the Gentiles were, with his companions,

likewise given up to destruction,—a matter which, surely, was altogether impossible? This entering, indeed, into the communion of life with those who surrounded him,—an entering which originated from disinterested love,—is the fundamental disposition of the Apostle, on this voyage, which could not fail to communicate itself to his companions also. As Joseph, when he was betrayed and sold by his brethren, conformed to the manners and customs of the Gentiles, and made himself at home in them, so did St Paul also, after he had been persecuted with the most atrocious and deadly hatred by his people,—only that he did not, like Joseph, even for a moment forget his forlorn people.

The law indeed does not prevent the Apostle from entering, inwardly and outwardly, into this communion with those who are "without the law;" but, will the promise given to him that, at all events, he is to come to Rome, allow him to enter, fully and inwardly, into all the insecurity and danger of his fellow travellers? We see plainly from the conduct and life of St Paul, that such definite Divine promises which, under the Old and New Testament, were made to holy men, have by no means exercised an impeding or disturbing influence upon the performance of their duty. For we have already, more than once, been compelled to acknowledge that St Paul does not so understand this Divine promise of his coming to Rome as a man less firm and pure might have understood it,—namely, that he himself, as regards his outward position, might safely allow matters to take whatever course they would; that God had resolved that he should come to Rome, and, therefore, be delivered out of the hands of the Jews; and that He had reserved it to himself to bring it about without St Paul's co-operation. We have, on the contrary, perceived that, before Festus as well as before Felix, and, finally, before king Agrippa also, Paul employed all his strength, prudence, and skill in order to escape the persecutions of the Jews, and to reach Rome. We have seen how, by his knowledge of the law, and by his presence of mind, he has opened up to himself a sure way which might, in the most expeditious and satisfactory manner, bring him to Rome. It is indeed at bottom not to be wondered at that the law which, to the Apostle, is established as regards the highest and most important concern of man—his σωτηρία,—namely that for the accomplishment of it, Divine and

human agency must co-operate (see Phil. ii. 12, 13), should find application to minor things also; and this so much the more that this principle is nothing else than the simple inference from the belief in the personal union of Godhead and manhood in Jesus Christ. The more that the Apostle is conscious that he has himself prepared the way and manner of his promised coming to Rome, the less he will now desist from providing, by all human care and co-operation, for the safe accomplishment of the commenced journey to the West. As little as formerly will the certainty of the Divine agency now prevent and put a stop to the human agency of the Apostle; rather will it bring it into the right path and motion. The same duty which is thus, by his communion with the Gentiles who are associated with and assigned to him, suggested to him,—the duty, namely, of taking care, as far as he was concerned, that the voyage should terminate safely,—is imposed upon him by a regard also to his own present condition.

After all this, we can well conceive that St Paul was deeply affected with the position of his fellow-travellers when it was in question to leave the Fair Havens on the south side of Crete, in order again to entrust themselves to the unsafe sea. It is true, however, that his anxiety alone, how sincere and well-founded soever it might be, gave him no title to form for himself an independent opinion on the subject, and, still less, to make such opinion publicly known. In order that he might have a right to do so, it was, in the first place, necessary that St Paul should have thoroughly known the point in question; and, secondly, that he should have been conscious of his occupying a position, in virtue of which he was responsible for the voyage. With respect to the first point, the circumstance is in St Paul's favor, that it afterwards comes out (see vv. 11, 21) that St Paul's knowledge reached farther than that of the master himself, and of the mate. This circumstance deserves our whole attention. The Western Gentiles, as the representatives of whom the ship's company appear, are the inhabitants of the Isles, and hence, as such, possess, above all others, a knowledge of the sea. These Gentiles, moreover, are the chief among the sons of Japhet; and for this reason also, a knowledge and dominion of the sea are peculiar to them. For it is just by this peculiarity that they fulfil, up to the present day, the calling given to Japhet, of spreading over

the earth (see Gen. ix. 27). How is it then, that St Paul surpasses those Japhethite sailors in the knowledge of navigation? We saw that Israel had remained at a distance from, and strangers to the sea. The supposition would, hence, commend itself, that St Paul had acquired his knowledge from the Gentiles, on the various voyages accomplished by him. But opposed to this hypothesis is the circumstance, that St Luke does not designate the time at which the navigation begins to become dangerous, by a Greek or Roman, but by an Israelitish term (see xxvi. 9). Considering, now, that St Luke everywhere strives to represent and relate matters in a most objective way, we must suppose that this designation too has been chosen in exact correspondence with the state of things; and, therefore, that St Paul did not make his remark from the Hellenistico-Roman, but from the Israelitish point of view. We now remember, indeed, that from the Israelitish point of view also there must be an access to the sea and its dominion; and that everything which, in Israel, points to, and is intended for this, has received the abiding commencement of its realization from the Apostle Paul.

We know that Solomon spake of trees from the cedar that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall (see 1 Kings v. 13 [iv. 33]). We know that Bezaleel, the son of Uri, possessed the faculty of devising cunning works, and of executing them in gold and silver, brass, stone and wood (see Exod. xxxi. 4, 5). Should we now imagine that this faculty and skill for art has arisen and been developed in Bezaleel in the same manner as in Phidias of Attica; and that Solomon acquired his knowledge of nature in the same manner as did Aristotle the Stagyrite? This we cannot imagine; inasmuch as there was, in Israel, as regards art and science, as great a want of taste as of culture. For this reason, it will not appear strange that another source of art and science is pointed out in both of these cases; and we shall, so much the more, have to attend to its peculiarities. Of Bezaleel it is said, that the Lord called him by name, and filled him with the Spirit of God in wisdom and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship (see Exod. xxx. 1—3); and of Solomon we learn that, upon his prayer, God gave him wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart even as the sand that is on the sea-shore

(see 1 Kings v. 9 [iv. 29]). It has been noticed by sacred history, that art and science have first been developed where men turned from God, and where ungodliness and a worldly disposition had taken up their first abodes (see Gen. iv. 11—24). Art and science in their natural development have thereby been for ever stamped by Scripture as manifestations and appearances of the worldly tendency. But nevertheless the matter is by no means settled by Schleiermacher's opinion: "The Jewish people were, pre-eminently, altogether without art" (see Christliche Sitte S. 690). By that judgment of sacred history, art and science were not in themselves, by any means, to be rejected; but the necessity of another origin of these manifestations of the Spirit was to be indicated. This other origin is the origin from the Spirit of God, which is declared in the two passages quoted above. By this, the rule is, for the future, established in the kingdom of God, —that no art and no knowledge is to be rejected, if it has not proceeded from the spirit of the world, but from the Spirit of God; just as the promise is implied in it, that the Spirit of God, when the time of His fulness shall have come, will bless His children and disciples with the gift of all art and science.

From this point of view it will be clear to us in what manner we have to conceive of the Apostle's knowledge of the sea and of navigation. There exists no reason, indeed, for supposing that such knowledge had been communicated to him by the Spirit of God in an extraordinary and immediate way, as we read in the cases of Bezaleel and Solomon; but we know enough of the Apostle's inward fulness of the Spirit, and of his outward position, to be entitled to assume, that, urged on by the Holy Spirit, he availed himself of the opportunities offered to him for filling up a great and important deficiency in his Israelitish knowledge and consciousness of the world. It is quite certain that St Paul had a full knowledge of his position towards the Gentiles, assigned to him in the world's history. We now see, however, that, from the beginning to the end, his ministry is always directed to the West. It hence follows that he conceives of the centre of the Gentiles as being in the West. Having now also most distinctly seen, on our way, that St Paul, with all his thoughts and notions, is in harmony with the Old Testament Scripture, and that in it he recognizes, for all his convictions, the Divine seal of universal,

valid certainty;—how could we be entitled to conceive of that view of his vocation and of his position to the West, in any other way, than in a clear and realized harmony with the Old Testament views and prospects as regards the sea and its Isles? If then, with this view, St Paul on his most important official journeys was led through the paths of the sea, could it be otherwise than that that Spirit who animated and urged him on, should suggest to, and induce him to pay particular attention to this new sphere of the terrestrial world which had hitherto been shut up to the people of God? For the sea, with its accidents, was not only the hitherto untrodden way to the Gentiles, which the Apostle had to enter upon for the first time, but was, at the same time, the grandest and most impressive image of heathendom. Thus it happened that, led and guided by the Spirit of God, St Paul was anxious to appropriate to himself that which Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, urged on by the spirit of the world, and by the desire of gain and conquest, had acquired. And this enlargement of the knowledge of the world, on the part of the Apostle of the Gentiles, by observation and knowledge of the sea, is the commencement which, in the ancient Gentile Church, was continued, by appropriating, for sacred symbolism, images borrowed from the sea and navigation (see Münter, Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen i. 28, 49; ii. 52). All the knowledge of the sea which, in this way of the Spirit, the Apostle Paul had acquired on his voyages,—all of which are not even recorded in our Book (see 2 Cor. xi. 23),—could not fail, under the impulse of the Spirit, to be remembered, collected, and increased to the highest point. For no voyage had as yet been so significant for him as this; and he had never yet been obliged so to identify himself with all his travelling companions, and with the ship and cargo, as on the voyage from Cesarea to Rome.

For which reason, it is not a merely vague conjecture which St Paul has to express as to the danger of the voyage; it is certain knowledge which he distinctly announces in the words ἄνδρες θεωρῶ, ver. 10. Ought he, then, to have withheld this his well-founded knowledge because, according to his outward position, he had no call to declare it? In the first place, in cases of extreme necessity and danger, the order, which is of great im-

portance in the ordinary course of events, may, and must be set aside. In the second place, it probably did not escape St Paul, that, if his fellow travellers were a representation of the Gentile world who, it is true, were called to a participation in salvation and the kingdom of God, but were in the meantime involved in danger and insecurity from the elements, the duty of superintending this voyage had been imposed by God upon him, the Apostle of the Gentiles. We cannot, however, be much surprised that the Centurion listened rather to the master of the ship, who was in favor of continuing the voyage, than to the warnings of St Paul. For although Julius, with his affection for St Paul, could not but perceive the energy with which the Apostle advanced his opinion; yet it was a consequence of the practical sense of the Roman that he placed greater confidence in the opinion of those who were professionally acquainted with the matter. Julius, however, might have had good cause for not placing too implicit a reliance upon their judgment; since he could not fail to perceive that the original order in managing the ship no longer existed in its inviolability. For, in the subsequent 12th verse, we are told that the decision as to the continuance of the voyage rested with the majority. From this circumstance we must evidently infer that the danger of the situation caused a dissolution of the established order. Bengel very pertinently remarks on ver. 12: "In danger, they also have a vote who, ordinarily, have no power and right; but the greater number of votes does not always secure that they shall be better votes." This feature reminds us also very clearly of the last times of the ancient Roman world. For, when the days of threatening danger broke in, the joints of the ancient established order began to loosen, and the measures of former security and assurance were wanting. The called guides and leaders showed themselves, as regarded the future, to be as blind as here the guides of the ship; while they ought to have listened to the advice which, early enough, caused itself to be heard in the Roman Empire as the voice of the Spirit. But because they could not make up their minds to that, deliverance and safety could be brought about only by the ruin of the ship—*i.e.*, by the whole ancient order of the Roman Empire being broken.

According to ver. 12, there seems to be no doubt that the

words of the Apostle have made an impression upon the majority, and that their fears, which they share with St Paul, are not by any means to be kept in abeyance by the authority of the conductors of the ship. This majority would, therefore, have quite agreed with St Paul that they ought not to leave the Fair Havens. One circumstance only makes them hesitate, namely, that the Fair Havens was not very commodious to winter in. This majority were, therefore, disposed to steer a middle course. They advised a departure from the present harbour, in order that they might reach another which was likewise situated on the South coast of Crete, namely Phenice, which, according to Smith (see l. c. p. 47, 54), is the present Lutro. This mediatory opinion of the majority was adopted; inasmuch as an accidental circumstance, viz., the rising of a South wind, seemed to favor it. By means of this wind, they expected, quickly and easily, to reach that not very distant harbour. In this again we have a true image of the life of the last times of the decaying Roman Empire, as well as, generally, of times of public and universal shakings and confusion. The more that conviction is unsettled and wavering, the greater is the influence which accidental circumstances obtain.

St Paul's view, however, remained unshaken. According to it, the season for a successful voyage was past; and this opinion was not changed although a more favorable harbour might be found in the neighbourhood, and although a favorable wind might arise. And the correctness of this view was but too soon confirmed; for scarcely had the ship, with the help of the favorable South wind, got out to sea in the direction of Phenice, when the wind veered to the East, and soon blew a hurricane (ver. 14). The vessel is, hence, now given up to the full rage of the wintry sea, which had just filled St Paul with such fears. It is now quite impossible to follow out the plan originally conceived; plan and will are altogether out of the question; wind and sea are alone the masters which rule absolutely. It is with evident interest that St Luke follows this turn of affairs; and he always makes use of expressions corresponding as much as possible to, and borrowed from, things more immediately at hand. To these belongs the designation of the wind as the typhonic, which, with Greeks as well as Romans, is currently used of a tempestuous

wind (see Wetstein, S. 641). He is not, however, satisfied with this; he must even add the real nautical term for the very direction in which, at that time, the hurricane raged:—it was the so-called *Εὐρακύλων*, or *Εὐροκλύδων*; for the Codd. as well as interpreters are divided betwixt these two different readings (see Smith l. c. p. 284—292; Vömel l. c. S. 8). As orignal, and as fresh from nautical life and phraseology, are the immediately succeeding expressions of the vessel, *μὴ δυνάμενον ἀνοφθαλμεῖν τῷ ἀνέμῳ*; and of the crew, *ἐπιδόντες ἐφερόμεθα*, ver. 15 (see Smith, p. 56, 57). * But St Luke not only describes the general condition of the vessel in being thus exposed to the tempest and the waves; he states, with great minuteness, even the single accidents in this condition. He does not forget to mention that they ran quickly under the small island of Clauda (see Smith, p. 61). At this juncture they were evidently reminded of the danger of running ashore; and, therefore, they sought to secure themselves against it by the ordinary means. As one of these, the boat must be considered; they wished fully to secure it, and therefore it must be hauled up, in order that, in case of need, they might at once have it at hand. Since then, in reference to this, St Luke writes: *μόλις ἰσχύσαμεν περικρατεῖς γενέσθαι τῆς σκάφης*—this turn expresses a new degree of sympathy and participation. For we here see that the Apostle and his companions not only identify themselves with all their fellow-voyagers in their sufferings, but also in all those things which the danger rendered it necessary to do. We here see that Apostolic men themselves put their hand to the work in time of great danger and distress. For we can so much the less consider this expression to be a mere phrase, that it occurs once again (ver. 19), and that, afterwards, on a similar occasion during this voyage, we find the Apostle Paul himself so engaged (see xxviii. 3). After what has been remarked, we need no longer be astonished at the manifestation of this communion; inasmuch as it is only the real manifestation of that view and disposition by which we found the Apostle and his friends in this condition were guided.

After they had thus, with some difficulty, brought the boat on deck, in order to be at once at hand in case of their being driven ashore, another precaution is used, in order likewise to prevent the danger of running ashore, which has been suggested by the sight

of the island. It is the ὑποζωννύναι τὸ πλοῖον, ver. 17. The girdings of the ships consisted of ropes which, being extended from the forecastle along the whole length of the vessel, and fastened on both of the ends, held the ship together (see K. Schneider on Plato's Republic S. 316). But with all this, it remains uncertain what is to be understood by βοήθειαι,—on which many conjectures have been made. But even in this we obtain sufficient light from antiquity, and a new proof is thus furnished to us of the care of our reporter in communicating all the details of this event. Vömel remarks on this passage: "Ever since the records of the Attic marine have been brought to light and made known, we know clearly and distinctly, that the ships which sailed into the Adriatic sea got peculiar ὑποζώματα "girths" (broad strong ropes) as a protection (βοήθειαι) in storms against the cliffs in that sea, and which ran, in a direction nearly perpendicular, from the forecastle to the poop, round the whole ship (see Böckh, Urkunden, S. 133 ff.) The putting on of these girds was called ὑποζωννύναι (Polyb. xxvii. 2, 3)." We may here leave it undecided whether it be more correct to conceive of this girding of the vessel as referring rather to the breadth than to the length of the vessel, as Smith, from the analogy of modern navigation, thinks (see l. c. p. 66, 67, 174—177); for we have already obtained proof sufficient to convince ourselves that St Luke's representation is exact, and that of one acquainted with the subject.

St Luke is quite anxious to keep the scene constantly before our minds, until he comes to the decisive catastrophe with the ship. We learn that the fear of the sailors arose not only from the small island of Clauda, but, on account of the northern direction and the violence of the wind, had reference to the African Syrtis. For this reason, it is said, they let down the implements (καλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος, ver. 17). This expression is commonly understood of the furling of the sails, or, also, of the letting down of the mast; but Smith, with his knowledge of naval affairs, insists that such a view must be altogether rejected, because such a proceeding would have given up the ship altogether to the wind, and, hence, could not have been a means against the danger spoken of; that, hence, by σκεῦος the tackling must be understood, by the letting down of which the sails obtain a direction, by means

of which they endeavour to avoid being driven straight on by the wind; and that the οὕτως ἐφέροντο must be understood with this modification (see l. c. p. 68—72). As this view appears to me to be quite correct, it follows that St Luke, in using the indefinite expression τὸ σκεῦος with this definite signification, expects that his readers, following the whole course of his account, would likewise free themselves from the accustomed scene and view by which they were surrounded, and enter, in a lively manner, into naval affairs. St Luke continues farther to pursue the single events and accidents of this dangerous position; and Smith, as a sign of the great accuracy of our account, finds himself induced to remark: "Every step hitherto taken indicates skilful seamanship" (l. c. p. 72). The lightening of the vessel in a heavy storm (ver. 18) is, as Smith shews (l. c.), a measure common both in ancient and modern times. But when this first lightening on the second day of the heavy gale did not afford any help against the storm, they attempted, on the third day, a more thorough one. The implements of the vessel,—those, of course, which they could best do without, and which were heaviest,—were thrown overboard (ver. 19). At this juncture St Luke again introduces a feature which places anew before us the whole disposition and circumstances of St Paul's travelling companions. For if we find beside each other: τῇ ἑξῆς ἐκβολὴν ἐποιοῦντο, and: τῇ τρίτῃ αὐτόχειρες τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ πλοίου ἐρρίψαμεν, no one who has paid attention to the carefulness and accuracy of our account will be able to say that the change of the person is merely accidental. Evidently it is intended to be intimated, by the use of the first person in the second clause, and by the strengthening addition of αὐτόχειρες, that, at the second more comprehensive lightening, all the people on board of the vessel were active, and, hence, that St Paul and his companions were not among the last who put their hands to the work. He who believes, farther, in the unity of Holy Scripture, which rests on the inspiration of the one Holy Spirit, will also be certainly convinced that this feature in the account before us—the co-operation of the Apostle and his friends—is destined to make strikingly apparent the contrast with the conduct of Jonah, of whom just the opposite is expressly reported, namely, that he lay in a deep sleep in the lower part of the ship (see Jonah i. 5), while the heathen crew, amid the

dangers of the storm, were throwing the implements of the ship into the sea. But this co-operation might, after all, have its foundation in a merely external accommodation. It might, after all, be conceived that St Paul and his friends showed themselves so active, only that they might make upon the Gentiles the impression of sympathy; but that inwardly, owing to the promise which the Apostle had formerly received, he was, in the midst of the danger of death, fully secure as far as his own person was concerned; that, hence, his outward action was in contradiction to his inward sentiments, and had, therefore, a docetic character only. But St Luke is anxious to remove even this last internal wall of separation between the Apostolic men and the heathen multitude in the ship beaten by the storms, and tossed about by the waves. With the touching words: *μήτε δὲ ἡλίου μήτε ἄστρων ἐπιφαινόντων ἐπὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας, χειμῶνος τε οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐπικειμένου, λοιπὸν περιηρεῖτο πᾶσα ἐλπὶς τοῦ σώζεσθαι ἡμᾶς* (ver. 20), St Luke introduces us into the farther course of events, and shews that all the efforts hitherto made were in vain, and that, at last, all hopes of deliverance were taken away by the disappearance of the sun and stars, whilst the storm continued to rage,—which, of course, in a ship without compasses, could not but be so much the more fearful. By significantly closing this sentence expressing the utmost stretch of the general dismay with *ἡμᾶς*, he gives us to understand, that the communion of St Paul and his two companions with all the Gentiles in the ship, had reached down even to the depth of the disappearance of all hope of safety. And how, indeed, could it have been otherwise? St Paul and his friends were surely endowed with human qualities and organs, as far as their position towards nature was concerned. If, therefore, just like all others in the vessel, the storm and tempest, the turbulent, raging sea, the groaning vessel, the disappearing lights of heaven, and the threatening quicksands and cliffs had not made upon him the same agitating impression that his life was in danger,—then, surely, his human perceptions and feelings must have been somehow repressed and kept down. Can we, or shall we perhaps, imagine this to be the effect of the revelation given to him by the Lord (see xxiii. 11)? Is then that which is Divine everywhere and anywhere an obstacle and limit to that which is human? This mechanical notion of the

relation between the Divine and the human may have its place anywhere; but certainly not in the Christology. For this is just based upon the fact that the human can completely receive within itself that which is Divine; and this not only without being suppressed or even limited, but as necessary to the attainment of its full realization. Thus we may, even in the history of our Lord, follow out and mark the truth and reality of human nature even to that depth, never experienced by any mortal, of experiencing death without God; and this truth and reality of human nature is the ground and soil which the bodily manifestation of the fulness of the Godhead never, for a moment, forsook. Since then this dynamic penetration of the Divine and the human is witnessed by history in the life of our Lord, and sealed as the eternally abiding ground of salvation, how should a word and revelation from the same Lord ever or anywhere have an opposite effect? As, in the life of our Lord, we have to conceive of the human susceptibility as raised to its highest point, and, therefore, perfected, just on account of His communion with the Father; so it must also be in all those who have received their life from the Spirit of Christ. And in this case, an extraordinary communication and promise can so much the less make any change, that such extraordinary grace is only a sign of an extraordinary degree of communion which a man has with the Lord; and for this reason the perfecting gradation of human susceptibility must, in such an one, be conceived of as equally extraordinary. And when we look back, has not even the foresight of the impending dangers, when the ship was still lying in the harbour of the island of Crete, been produced in the Apostle Paul by this susceptibility, increased by the Spirit, for impressions of the sea and weather? How, then, should not he, who foresaw the danger to the men as well as to the ship and cargo, whilst the professional men did not yet, through their strong self-interest, recognize anything of the danger,—how, then, should not he, when given up to the power which threatened destruction and death, feel as strongly, and even more strongly than all the rest, the whole destruction of these powers? We must, hence, thus conceive of it, that the three men believing in Jesus, attend to all the phenomena of the weather and sea with senses perfectly clear and

awake;—that they not only perceive every threatening sign, but feel also its pernicious effects;—that they receive, with their whole soul, every encouraging prospect, and that they welcome, with sympathy and hope, every means which promises relief, and bring it, when necessary, into application by their co-operation. If they have spent the last days of distress in such a disposition and frame of mind, then we can very well understand how it is that the three men do not withdraw their sympathy and co-operation when the moment arrives at which, before the darkness of the heavens, and the horrors of the deep, the last rays of hope are disappearing. Yea, I think that we cannot conceive of it in any other way than that this disappearance of the last streak of hope made, upon no one of the whole multitude, so strong and agitating an impression as it did upon the Apostle Paul. This, of course, does not prevent the Apostle Paul and his friends from remembering the Scripture which, in Ps. cvii. 23—30, testifies that even when all hope and help on the sea are lost, Jehovah begins to manifest His might and mercy. They are not prevented from trusting and hoping in God, and from praying to Him. But from the circumstance that St Luke did not think it necessary to mention this, and that, instead of it, he rather reports their outward conduct, we may perceive that it is to him of greater importance to bring very clearly and prominently out the full communion of the Apostle and his friends with the whole remaining heathen multitude on the general human ground, and not so much their peculiar relation to God.

St Paul's conduct, which is reported in the subsequent verses, can then be duly understood and appreciated, only if the communion with their heathen travelling companions be maintained, up to this fulness, by St Paul and his friends; for St. Luke mentions that after this general hopelessness had seized them, a total abstinence from food prevailed. The words πολλῆς ἀσιτίας ὑπαρχούσης *per se* may also be understood as implying that a want of provisions had arisen; and Smith (see l. c. p. 75, 76, 106) quotes many instances to prove that this is quite a common thing in violent storms which both spoil the provisions and destroy the cooking utensils; but the context would not at all agree with such a sense. For, if all hope had already disappeared, as is said in the preceding verse, the despair can no more be increased by

such a want of provisions; but it is, no doubt, evidently intended to intimate such an increase of the distress, in order to introduce the following encouraging speech of St Paul. If, however, it became general with the men in the vessel to abstain from the ordinary food, although there did not, by any means, exist a want of provisions,—this was the surest sign that despair of life had seized upon all, and that, instead of the former boldness, there had now come dumb despair, and a fearful gazing into the abyss of perdition. The heathen mariners who formerly sailed from Joppa to Tarshish, when in a similar danger, cried every one to his god, and thereupon they threw the implements into the sea (see Jonah i. 5); but here the heathens first employ all the means at their disposal, in order to escape from death. After everything has, however, proved to be in vain, nothing remains for them but the awful expectation of certain death; of the invocation of any God, or of any religious excitement in general, nothing is told to us. May it not be that in this there is an intimation that, meanwhile, another time has come for the world. That which, in Nineveh, began only and existed in the form of a germ, has in Rome been developed and completed, and has grown up into a full tree. The kingdom of the world has now drawn all might and knowledge, all success and advantage, into the territory of this world, and has changed religion more and more into a worship of man invested with might and glory; so that worldliness and estrangement from God could not fail to become greater and greater. Whilst in the history of the prophet Jonah, before the first kingdom of the world appeared in Babylon, we find the Gentiles to be still exceedingly susceptible and excitable, they have, according to the parallel history of St Paul's voyage, became so hardened and dead in worldliness as to fill us with horror. For it is not only from the circumstance that the sailors, while going to Tarshish, prayed in their extremity, that we ascertain their religious susceptibility, but their inward disposition still more clearly shows itself. They had scarcely heard from the mouth of His disobedient Prophet the name of Jehovah, the Creator of the sea and dry land, when they were filled with fear; and, after their deliverance, these Gentiles offered to Jehovah their sacrifices and paid their vows (see Jonah i. 10—16). And, finally, by means of a short discourse in the name of the unknown God who made heaven and earth, Jonah

brings it about that all Nineveh, from the highest to the lowest, repents in dust and ashes (see Jonah iii. 6—9). No sentiment of that kind is told to us of the Gentiles of the Roman kingdom of the world, although they are not only threatened by the same danger of death, but there is here one even greater than the prophet Jonah, namely, the Lord himself, to whom Jonah only pointed, who, in St Paul, His willing and obedient servant and Apostle, proves himself to be present and working in the midst of the Gentiles.

A new light is thrown upon the conduct of the Apostle of the Gentiles by this peculiarity of the heathenism of that time,—a peculiarity prominently brought out by this so obvious comparison. For, in what manner can those Gentiles, shut up and lost in worldliness and earthly pursuits, be laid hold of, except by entering with the purest and most ardent love into their whole, real condition in this world? And after St Paul has thus, for a time, represented himself to them in his speaking and silence, in his acting and suffering, he may venture to tell them a word regarding his relation to God. This word, however, is such as at the same time to make manifest the whole mercy and grace of God by which He embraces in His love the whole lost and helpless Gentile world, and penetrates it with holy, eternal life. For when the sign of deepest despair—the general abstinence from daily food—manifested itself, St Paul stood forth in the midst of the entire travelling company, and reminded them of his former advice (ver. 21). By the words: τότε σταθεὶς ὁ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν, St Luke intends to point out the impression produced by the dignified appearance of the Apostle. In the general dismay, even the confident appearance of St Paul has something in it which commands respect. And this immediate impression produced by his appearance was farther increased by the commencement of his speech, in which he pointed to his former advice. There was, it is true, some bitterness implied in this reference, and St Paul does not, by any means, express it so as to take from this bitterness; but he has in it the good intention to gain, by this commencement, admittance to their hearts for the important word which he has in his heart. For his intention is to speak to the Gentiles, sunk in worldliness and earthly pursuits, of a hidden occurrence which originated from the invisible world

That which is said of it by Calvin holds quite true: "St Paul had no authority to move them unless he testified to them that the former neglect of him had issued in their misfortune." Since, then, he refers his hearers to that former period, by the words: ἔδει μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, πειθαρχήσαντάς μοι μὴ ἀνάγεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης, Calvin is again right when he remarks: "His saying that they should have obeyed him is a proof of self-confidence by no means common. He therefore testifies by these words that he has not made to them any wanton declaration, but told them only what God had commissioned him to say." Now that his insight into the circumstances, which the Spirit of God had wrought in him, had been proved and confirmed to the eyes of all, it well became him to attach importance to the right which, in consequence of such illumination by the Spirit, was due to him. But St Paul was the more induced to claim this right in distinct words, in order that he might open up the way for his farther communication which referred directly to a Divine revelation with which he had been entrusted.

After having thus, by his appearance and commencement, secured to himself the good opinion and confidence of his hearers, St Paul exhorts them to be of good cheer (ver. 22). If, in the face of the danger which threatened death and destruction,—in the face of the general hopelessness which had already taken deep root, such an exhortation is to produce any effect, it requires a very powerful support. St Paul, however, is able to afford such support, sufficiently strong, to his exhortation to be of good cheer. He confidently asserts that no soul shall be lost, but the ship only (ver. 22). If this word had been told to the people when they were lying in the harbour of Crete, they surely would not have found in it any ground for cheerful confidence. The loss of the ship, on the contrary, would have proved a sting of grief. But now that all hope of safety is given up, and that even meat and drink have become loathsome to them, every one would be contented and happy if only he could get any security for the safety of his own life, and he would attach no importance to the loss of the ship, and of all his property which would be lost along with it. St Paul promises such a deliverance for all the souls,—if only the people could and would believe him! It is true, he once was right; he puts to shame by his pious and confident

appearance, the despair of all those who were present; but who, notwithstanding, can venture to trust him in such a promise which stands in direct contradiction to all which they see and think? St Paul knows the thoughts of the hearts; and for this reason he, at once, by means of a second γὰρ (ver. 23), adds to his promise the Divine foundation on which it rests.

St Paul refers to the Angel of his God (ver. 23). He does not by any means endeavour to communicate to the Gentiles any distinct doctrinal notion of his God; not even a short circumlocution, such as Jonah applied in a similar case, does he think appropriate; he designates the God of heaven and earth, the God and Father of Jesus Christ, as *his* God, the God to whom he belonged, and whom he served; and he does so even at the risk that the heathens might conceive the idea, as if the God of St Paul were one besides the many other gods, that Jehovah was like Osiris, or Zeus, or Jupiter Capitolinus. St Paul knows that, in the general confusion and blindness of the Gentiles within the sphere of religion, every objective designation of God would have been in vain. He knew that a reference to the Creator of heaven and earth was now no more so likely to produce a salutary impression, as it did at the time of Jonah. It was clear to him that there existed only one access to these deluded and hardened hearts, and that this was an appeal to the testimony of their individual consciences. Now St Paul is conscious that in this respect nothing has been neglected by him, and that he has attained the point of being able to calculate with certainty, that the attention of his fellow voyagers could not escape him, if he declared himself on the subject of this inner hidden ground of his individuality. Even before they started from Cesarea, the Centurion and his soldiers knew that St Paul and his companions were Jews: and if the others in the ship did not know it previously, every one had ascertained it when, in the harbour at Crete, St Paul publicly expressed his conviction of the impending danger. But everywhere in the Roman Empire it is known,—it is known especially to the Roman soldiers who come from Palestine, and to the Alexandrian sailors, in whose country many Jews have, for a long time, been settled,—that the Jews differ specifically from all nations in their religious opinions and institutions. But this difference and opposition in the inner and

hidden territory of religion makes everywhere an impression so much the more repulsive, that it everywhere manifests itself in the most glaring manner in private, as well as in public life. Under such circumstances, the conduct of the Apostle and his friends could not but have made a deep impression upon the minds of the Gentiles. They had seen and witnessed how these Jews removed all impending barriers; how, outwardly and inwardly, in joy and in sorrow, in anxiety and trouble, in distress and death, they shared every thing with the Gentiles, as if they were their brethren. They had experienced how St Paul with his spiritual eye saw more clearly the danger to the ship and people, than even the mate and master. They had afterwards experienced how St Paul, without being in the least annoyed at the disregard of his good advice, entered with complete and full sympathy into the various vicissitudes and accidents of the daring voyage, which did not escape the just punishment of pride. And now they must perceive with their own eyes and ears that St Paul is the only one who has remained composed and undaunted in the midst of the general danger of death, and the universal despair; yea, that this Jew is able, out of the fulness of his good courage, to comfort and cheer the whole assembly who were struck with terror by the fear of death. Just as, at first, there had not been a single soul in the ship who had not looked, with greater or less contempt, upon this captive, accused Jew; so there was, no doubt, at present, in the vessel beaten by the storm and tossed by the waves, not one soul who was not forced, from the depth of his fear of death, to look up, with admiration and astonishment, to this man, on account of his confident and courageous deportment, as well as on account of his kind condescension. All must have perceived and felt how he had descended with all of them into all their fears and anxieties, not only for the preservation of their lives, but also for the safety of the ship and cargo,—even into that depth where all hopes were gradually vanishing, and anguish of death seized upon them. And now he stood before them with death and the abyss under his feet, and the ray of hope and life on his countenance!

Since he now begins to speak of *his* God, it is possible that, in the souls of the heathens surrounded by darkness and death, the strange and repulsive notion of the God of the Jews may be

changed into a definite and attractive form. The heathens are now again reminded of what, by the whole conduct of the Apostle during the last days, they had, no doubt, altogether forgotten, viz., that St Paul is a Jew; and they must learn by experience that this heart-winning manner, this incomparable greatness do not attach to him in spite of, but just because of his Judaism. For, in this moment of their deep astonishment, St Paul shows them that the relation to his God is the inward, concealed ground of his present courage, and of his whole life in general. Hence, the notion cannot but arise in the minds of the Gentiles, that the God of the Jews is such a God, as that He bestows a knowledge greater than that which is acquired by experience and labour, and, along with it, a modesty which is not vexed, and does not get angry,—such a God, as that He gives, in distress and death, undaunted sense and courage, and, by the side of it, a gentle and kind heart. This idea regarding the God of Israel could not but appear the more important to the Gentiles, the more they had, just in their present distress, been convinced that, from their own gods, they had to expect neither advice nor comfort. Should they now be able to harden themselves against what St Paul is about to communicate to them farther regarding his God? They will be the less able to do so that that, which he has farther to communicate to them, is so closely connected with what they have themselves experienced and suffered, and is, in addition, perfectly fitted, completely to win their hearts to the God of St Paul. For St Paul goes on to say to his eager hearers: "There stood by me the Angel of God, saying, Fear not, Paul, thou must be brought before Caesar, and lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee. Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer: for I believe God, that it shall be even as it was told me. Howbeit, we must be cast upon a certain island" (ver. 24—26). In this communication there is implied, in the first place, the supposition that the God of St Paul is the Lord of the sea and storm; for it is only as such that He can give to His servant the certainty of his being delivered, and brought before Caesar. This communication does now no more come to the Gentiles all on a sudden, and without any connecting link. For has not the spirit of St Paul proved himself to be thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the sea and

heaven? And, according to his own confession, is not this spirit the Spirit of the God of Israel? Should not, moreover, that God who bestows upon His worshipper and servant such knowledge, by the side of such humility, such love by the side of such courage,—should not such a God also govern heaven and earth? As the inability of the gods of the heathen to adorn the heart of man with the ornament of true virtue has been made manifest by the conduct of St Paul the Jew, in presence of the desponding heathens, so should not also all the power of the heathen gods over wind and sea be obliged to disappear, and the God of Israel alone retain the throne of the government of the world?

But still more surprising must it be to the Gentiles to hear that, from a special favour towards His worshipper and servant, the God of Israel would preserve the lives also of all the Gentiles in the ship; for, in this, not power merely, but love and grace were concerned. "How is it," so the heathens could not avoid thinking, "how is it that a Deity, even though He possessed the power, should care about another people, about men of several other nations?" For the downright opposition in which the nations stood to each other was, after all, only an image of that very same opposition in the world of gods. If then, as was the case at the present moment, every heathen felt himself forsaken by his own god, and given up to destruction, how should he have been able to entertain the idea that a strange god, the God of the Jews, who more than any other nation opposed themselves to all other nations, would trouble himself about the preservation of all of them? And yet even this proclamation of the mercy of God to the Gentiles is not without foundation in what they had experienced in their own consciences. For they all saw with their own eyes, how St Paul the Jew allowed even the last barrier of the distinction between him and his heathen companions to sink and disappear. In now saying that God had given him all those who sailed with him, St Paul gives them to understand, that he had undertaken and accomplished the mediation between the God of Israel and the Gentiles. In this way, and by this means, the relation of the grace on the part of the God of Israel towards the Gentiles, is made obvious and intelligible to the heathen conviction. For that which Calvin suspects with some hesitation only, Olshausen thinks himself entitled distinctly to suppose,—

namely, "that St Paul had wrestled in prayer for the lives of the men, and that, in answer to his prayer, God had granted them to him." And, indeed, we have not only some foundation for thus viewing the matter, but we must even suppose that the heathen hearers of St Paul cannot have understood it in any other way. Having seen with what care and trouble St Paul had been anxious to avert the danger from the ship and men; and hearing now from his own mouth that the whole foundation of his life rested in his God, how could they have understood the words of God's having given them to him, in any other way than this:—that the inner ground of his life also was equally filled with that sympathy for his companions in misfortune, which manifested itself in his outward actions and conduct; and that, hence, while, in his care and anxiety for the whole world, he had been labouring for the preservation of their endangered lives, a corresponding inward disposition, *i.e.* prayer and supplication before his God for that same blessing, had accompanied it? It is thus that the mercy of the distant, unknown God of Israel towards them, the Gentiles, is bestowed upon them through the medium of St Paul's prayer; and this inward concealed fact of a Jew's praying for them is made obvious to them by means of that which they themselves have seen and experienced of him.

We now understand more and more distinctly, and see more and more clearly, how much reason St Luke had for embodying in his Book this account of the voyage, although it is so minute and detailed as to those outward events. No doubt most readers, and Theologians especially, had they been left to choose between an account of Paul's ministry in the neighbourhood of Galatia, or a more detailed statement of his conduct in Corinth, and the account of the voyage under consideration, would not hesitate for a moment, and would willingly give up the latter, if, in exchange, they could get either of those first mentioned. And yet, such an exchange would be very foolish; for, from the analogy of St Paul's discourses and Epistles, we can see with sufficient plainness in what manner St Paul taught and laboured in Galatia and Achaia; but we should not be able to discover how he behaved and laboured for the kingdom of Jesus in the midst of the Gentiles, on sea and by land, and when he was, for many days, in danger of death. Yea, doubtless, if these people endeavoured

to conceive of the conduct of the Apostle under such circumstances, they would arrive at a result altogether different from that which we find in the authentic account. Who would not feel much more satisfied if, instead of the many nautical and geographical details, St Luke had communicated to us an exhortation of the Apostle to the heathens to repent and believe, or a prayer offered up before and with them in the hour of danger? And yet, in such a case, we should have learned only what we know already; while we should not have got a glimpse into the deep foundation on which the Apostle's exhortation to repentance and faith, and the prayers and supplications for the salvation of their souls, rested. The case, indeed, stands thus, that while, apparently, St Luke draws us away from the sphere of the inward, spiritual life, and leads us into the most external efforts and toil of human life, and, with evident intention, keeps us there,—he, in truth, allows us to look the more deeply into the hidden mysteries of the kingdom of God. Even of this history, that which Luther says of the history of Jesus, holds completely and unreservedly true: "The more deeply that Christ is drawn into nature and the flesh, the greater is the comfort which is thereby afforded" (see Doven, Entwickelungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi, S. 192, 1 Aufl). For it is not thus that Christ has redeemed mankind from sin and death, that from a distance, and from the glory of heaven, He sympathized with human misery; but the beginning of His work of redemption was this, that He became flesh. This complete, unreserved entering into the communion of human nature has been made by Him the sole and eternal basis of all doing and suffering with a view to redemption. The history now under consideration shows that we must conceive of St Paul's ministry among the Gentiles according to the same analogy. Never yet did the comprehensiveness and universal character of St Paul's vocation meet us in the same way, as it did at the moment when he left Jerusalem to the judgment of God, in order straightway to proceed to Rome, and there, to the ruler of the Roman Empire. Nor has the importance of St Paul's person for the history of the whole world ever been so realized by us as in his last decisive discourse before king Agrippa, immediately before he entered upon his journey (see xxvi. 16—18). We, therefore, completely understand that, even

now, there was to be manifested, in a manner different from that in which it had ever been before, the foundation of the whole relation in which Jesus Christ's Apostle and servant to the Gentiles really stands to these nations of the world. We must have long been convinced that, in order to fit him for his office of Apostle to the Gentiles, it was necessary that he should be freed from every thing which, in his nation, forms a contrariety to other nations. The positive aspect of this negative condition of St Paul's Apostolic office is now set before us. In passing from Jerusalem to Rome, St Paul is brought into contact with a multitude of men, as different as they were well organized among themselves, and who represented the Gentile nations of the Roman Empire; and in communion with them he is given over to the elements of earth and heaven. And, inasmuch as in the stormy voyage and shipwreck of these his travelling companions, the whole present aspect of the falling and sinking heathen world is represented, the Apostle of the Gentiles is, by means of this voyage, placed in a real and actual communion with the nations to whom he is sent. Now, did the Apostle consider, and change this communion into a beautiful and edifying allegory, by availing himself of the nearness of heathen life and manners, in order to make some reflections on the distress and misery of the ship of the Gentile world which was given up to the waves and billows of time, and, at length, was to be wrecked on the rocky cliffs of just punishment, while he himself was enjoying a position which afforded security and shelter? We have every reason for supposing that the deep meaning of the whole voyage did not escape St Paul; but nowhere in Scripture does it happen that an actual event, as such, is, for the sake of some additional meaning, put in the back ground. The allegory, on the contrary, has always the truth of the actual fact for its foundation, and the truth of this actual fact must always, and above every thing, be acknowledged. And such is the case here also. Above every thing else, the Apostle is fully in earnest in entering into the whole reality of this communion decreed for him. St Luke, his friend and companion, is to us a guarantee that the Apostle Paul entered into this communion, so as to have even a clear knowledge of the winds, and their strength and directions, of the boat and the tacklings of the ship, yea, even of the heathen image at the bow of the second

Alexandrian vessel (see xxviii. 11), and that, along with all his heathen associates, he descended to the fear of death (see xxvii. 24). It is on this ground of universal human nature, of universal human life and suffering, of universal human feeling and action, that the Apostle of the Gentiles must first and chiefly take his stand; and that in such a way that this entire and unreserved communion of universal human nature should be brought home to the conviction of the Gentiles, in a manner distinct and undeniable. And in this, the necessary principle and inviolable rûle for all teaching and preaching among the Gentiles has been most plainly and positively brought before us. As all the redeeming work of Christ rests on the foundation and supposition of His incarnation, so all the converting work of the messengers of Christ must rest on the immoveable foundation and supposition of their pure human nature and feeling. The account under consideration is intended to establish, for all future time, this never to be forgotten fact, for our instruction and warning, that St Paul, before professing before the Gentiles the name of Jesus Christ, before speaking to them of eternal life and perdition, shows them how, by his knowledge and word, and, where that was in vain, by the labour of his hand, he has endeavoured to preserve the ship and cargo; and when all was in vain, still continues to work with his hands, and to pray with his spirit, in order that the lives of those who are with him in the vessel may be preserved. A spiritualizing theology, instead of expressing astonishment at, and haughtily ridiculing the diary of St Luke, should look to the present state of the world, and to its dangers. It might thereby obtain the conviction that we have here a most necessary piece of sacred history before us, which is just the more highly and sacredly to be esteemed, the more it is undervalued and misunderstood.

For, ever since the professing and preaching of the Gospel, the teaching and praying in the name of Jesus Christ among the Gentiles is no more done in that pure manner and form of the Spirit in which St Paul once traversed the countries and Isles of the Gentiles, supporting himself by the labour of his hands, and offering, without money and without price, the bread of eternal life, in the literal practice of the word of Jesus, that it is more blessed to give than to receive;—ever since the ministerial office

among the Gentiles acquired a secular foundation, the temptation has become so much the greater to do the work of the office without the spiritual disposition which the office requires. Such disposition, however, is, in the first instance, Faith, which furnishes the subject of all preaching and teaching, of all professing and praying. There exists the temptation of doing the works of faith, without the corresponding principle of faith; of such a case we do not here speak. But another contradiction may still be conceived of, namely, that not only faith may be wanting, but there may be wanting the sentiments also which we have here recogniced as the necessary condition of all evangelical ministry; such a corruption is particularly deep and dangerous. For, since the evangelical ministry supposes, as a matter of course, human affections, the delusion may creep in, that the latter are, by no means, necessary or essential. The error may arise that faith in the Divine, in that which is above human nature and conception, must, by itself, repress all that is human; and thus it may happen that faith may view itself, and claim to be viewed by others, as a warranted substitute for, yea, as a higher degree of the absence of human affections and sentiments. Into this dark delusion and confusion,—which is ever anew nourished by the secular form of honor and profit with which the office has clothed itself,—at length even evil will may enter with lies and deceit. It is in this way that it may happen that the deepest and most hidden foundation of all holy testimony in the world—viz., human affections, may be entirely destroyed, and yet there may remain, for the sake of the outward form which always accompanies the appearance of Divine truth in the world, the form of godliness. We have then the horns of the holy lamb, and the words of the dragon,—namely, the beast of the false prophet out of the abyss (see Rev. xiii. 11). Such a dreadful end, however, does not come on all of a sudden, but is preparing gradually; and such an end is, for this purpose, set before us, that we may guard ourselves with fear and trembling against even the smallest and imperceptible beginnings. Such beginnings have had an existence in the Gentile Church for a long period; and it is especially our own time that has, on this point, to examine itself. We would here not even mention those ecclesiastical territories in which, even by the hierarchical order,

human affections are limited and mutilated for the bearers of the ministerial office. With respect to the ministerial office even in the Evangelical Churches, the opinion is wide spread and deeply rooted in the congregations, that most of the members of this class are deficient in the oneness and entireness of human life and sentiments. And, indeed, when we consider the manifestations of their official activity, their sermons and official duties, their prayers and instructions, oral as well as written, those only who are prejudiced will be able to deny that, within this whole sphere, a mass of abstract and doctrinal matters is transplanted and dragged forward, to the injury of the real contact of the ministerial office with the congregation (comp. Jonas, die Kanzelberedsamkeit Luthers, S. xii.). But in what else has this error its foundation than in the mistaken notion that when they speak as ministers, they may speak in a manner different from that which they adopt when they wish to make themselves understood on general human affairs; that, in the ministerial and ecclesiastical sphere, they are free from the general claims of humanity? And all the while we see that St Paul is of opinion that, in his testimony, he must proceed so much the more in a human manner, the more that that is Divine and spiritual which he feels himself called upon to say;—that the great Apostle of the Gentiles, before proclaiming the Gospel in the metropolis of the world, goes through, in a manner the most comprehensive, and in presence of all the Gentiles, an actual confirmation of his human nature and affections;—and that, impelled by the Spirit, St Luke has deemed it wise and profitable to describe more minutely this entering of the Apostle into the life and sufferings of the heathen world, than he did even his entering, on the Areopagus, into the sphere of Gentile thought. But when men even venture to proceed with, and to hold up the faith in, and the holy profession of, the Gospel of Christ, while, at the same time, the simplest and most undeniable principles of human nature are trampled under foot;—when men are bold enough to praise evangelical conduct and Christian sentiments, where the heathens would desiderate fidelity and justice, and our old Theologians the justitia civilis:—there already very serious signs are appearing which call us to the law and to the testimony, and seriously remind us of St Luke's despised account of the voyage. For, in these phenomena, we

must not be deceived by zeal against false prophecying, nor imagine that, with such zeal, not even the slightest beginning of false prophecying could, by any possibility, take root. For this mode of administering the Divine word and office is on good terms with false prophecying; inasmuch as it does not become wearied in holding up, and in ever more castigating the rationalistic and naturalistic (*humanistic*) tendencies as the essence of pseudo-prophetism, whilst these poor doctrines chiefly err in this, —that they consider that to be the Gospel itself which the Gospel supposes only as a matter of course, namely, the claims of human nature and of human affections; and, therefore, such inhuman zeal against these aberrations cannot claim any right at all. A right to reject these rationalistic and humanistic doctrines, as being negative and destructive, exists only where the supposition of all evangelical action is fully and freely admitted, and in reality practised,—a supposition which, in the account under consideration, and in the face of St Paul's ministry in the centre of the world, is, by St Luke, so intentionally and undeniably brought to light from its usual quiet concealment. The zealous thundering against rationalism and humanism can, with that inhuman pretence of godliness, be considered only as an attempt to cover its own nakedness, and to deafen its own evil conscience; for such poor doctrines derive a transitory significance and existence only from the circumstance that, somehow and somewhere, self-delusion or deceit in the sphere of ministerial activity has attacked, or encroached upon that inviolable supposition. The more that thus the pseudo-prophetism in the Church developes into that monstrous abortion of the beast which we see coming up in that prophetic word concerning the end, the more important and significant must the section under consideration appear to the Church. And since we can no more overlook and deny the temptations and beginnings of that final form of false prophecying which at present exists in our Church, we must the more readily acknowledge and recognize the prevailing work of the Spirit in the communication of this account of the voyage; and this the more that, at first sight, the whole account appears strange. For the Spirit sees, with His glance, through all the periods and wants of the Church, and enters into them with His love and wisdom. For this

reason, He has committed to writing every thing which, in the development of the first period of the Church, took a normal course, and has provided for it the canonical acknowledgment in the immediately succeeding period of the ecclesiastical development.

Since St Luke does not report any thing as to the impression produced upon the assembly by St Paul's words, but proceeds (ver. 27) with his account of the outward events connected with the threatening danger of the stranding of the vessel, we must suppose that nothing of such an impression made its appearance. But are we, for that reason, to suppose that no impression at all had been made, or even that the Apostle's entering into the whole inward and outward condition of the heathens assembled here was not so deep and earnest as we have conceived of, and represented it? That, certainly, would be a very rash conclusion. No one doubts that, in his speech on the Areopagus, St Paul entered deeply and earnestly into the heathen and Grecian modes of thought; and yet the result is not merely silence, but even contempt and mockery. We must bear in mind and realize the aberration and obduracy of heathenism which rested on the sins and delusions of several thousands of years, in order to find it to be conceivable, how it was, that not even the deepest earnestness of the purest love could at once count upon a visible success, although it employ and call in all thoughts and affections, all the powers of body and soul, in order to lay hold of the heathen portion of mankind in the foundations of its existence and consistence, and to raise them out of the abyss. We must, moreover, here take into consideration the whole outward condition of the assembly—their being shut up in a vessel threatened with destruction—in order to find so much the more conceivable this silence after so touching a discourse of the Apostle, who came forward after having been tried and proved in such a manner. For we cannot by any means believe that the discourse should have produced no impression at all. On the contrary, it is highly probable that not one soul in the whole assembly remained unmoved by the closing exhortation: διὸ εὐθυμεῖτε ἄνδρες. We shall also have occasion immediately to see that the Apostle's conduct during the voyage has procured for him an authority in the ship which he did not formerly possess. Certainly, however, the assembly is very far from giving themselves over, with entire confidence, to the guid-

ance and direction of the Apostle, upon the ground of such an irresistible impression. The unwillingness and refusal of the heathen nature to bow before the power of love serve, however, only to bring before us the farther display and manifestation of this love of the Apostle of the Gentiles in its real earnestness, in its unyielding perseverance, and in its faithfulness towards the least and the meanest.

A crisis takes place with the fourteenth night, which, according to the mode of calculation employed in ver. 18, 19, must be reckoned from their leaving Crete. The ship is driven up and down in the Adriatic sea, by which name, in a wider sense, the Ionic sea is likewise designated (see Winer, bibl. Realwört. i. 23, 24); and at midnight the shipmen deemed that, according to St Luke's nautical expression, the land drew nearer to them (ver. 27). St Luke does not mention by what means the sailors recognized the nearness of the land during the night. Smith, however, remarks that the breaking of the waves usually indicates this (see l. c. p. 88). As soon as this view has been taken up by the sailors, they throw out the fathom-line in order to ascertain the matter; and not only do they soon find ground, but, after having gone a little farther, a considerable decrease of depth—from twenty to fifteen fathoms—manifests itself; and thus the fear arises that the ship may, in a short time, run on rocky cliffs (εἰς τραχεῖς τόπους). In this situation, the sailors endeavour to escape from the danger of being wrecked, by casting out four anchors from the stern (ver. 29); by which they succeed, as St Luke intimates by his silence, in bringing the ship to a stand-still. The minute account of these events of the fourteenth night renders it in itself probable that St Luke was awake and on deck, and knew them from being present and an eye-witness; and by this our attention is anew directed to the contrast betwixt Jonah and St Paul. While Jonah gives himself up to sleep during the storm—and, to all appearance, in the day time—St Paul and his companions do not, even on the fourteenth night of the storm, allow sleep to themselves, but think themselves obliged to watch most closely all the events and incidents in the ship. And we shall immediately see that we have not been mistaken in this our inference, and of what great consequence for the preservation of the men were this constant carefulness and watchfulness of St Paul.

For St Luke reports that while the sailors were lying in the ship at anchor, and waiting for the dawn of the day, in order then to take farther measures, the fear arises with them that the wreck of the vessel was almost unavoidable, and that all those within it would be threatened with danger to their lives. "Under these circumstances"—as Meyer correctly remarks—"the sailors, in order to get out of this dangerous position, and to have some certainty of escape, make the treacherous attempt to get to land in the boat which they had already let down, under the pretext of casting the anchor out of the forepart of the ship, and thus to leave to their fate the master of the vessel, the soldiers, and the other passengers, along with the ship itself. The master of the vessel, whose interest was too closely connected with the preservation of the ship, was surely not implicated in this conspiracy of his men; but how easily, in such vulgar minds, are the ties of fidelity and duty loosened in times of such uncertainty and danger, especially when, at such an expense, a sure deliverance can be effected." Thus St Paul obtains a new opportunity of looking into the incurable dissolution of the first conditions of life among this heathen multitude; and this we shall find to be altogether a matter of course, if it be true that it is as the Apostle of the Gentiles that he is to be conceived of, while inclosed, with sinking and falling heathenism, within the space of the stranding ship. But it is not only the mere inward dissolution of the natural relations which is here manifested, but also, at the same time, the contempt of the Divine testimony of the Apostle, which he had sealed by a deed of the purest and most faithful love. For, in the first instance, the sailors have no confidence in the Divine promise of St Paul, that no danger of life should be connected with the wrecking of the vessel; and, secondly, the Apostle Paul also is, with all the others, given over to certain destruction by these sailors. But this confusion and dissolution of heathenism, and its obstinate resistance to the Divine message of salvation, is not only exhibited to St Paul, and communicated to us simply to be looked at;—something else, and altogether different, is also contained in it for the Apostle, and, hence, for us also. It is by means of his sharing, in a human manner, in the condition of all his travelling companions,—a sharing which was displayed in his sympathy, compassion, and co-operation, and

finally, by his deep-felt prayers and supplications before his God for the preservation of himself and of the whole company,—it is thus that he has obtained the certainty that no soul should be lost. This security is divinely guaranteed to him; and he declares, in the presence of the whole assembly, that he relies, with entire faith, upon this promise of his God (see ver. 25). Will St Paul not be now quite at ease, and prove, as far as he is concerned, the good courage to which he has exhorted the others, by looking forward with perfect calmness to that which is to happen? What is it that has never yet permitted him to be calm and at his ease, that, in the fourteenth night of the storm, keeps him awake, and urges him to go on deck, and leads him minutely to follow and to observe all the motions of the ship, and all the actions of the sailors? Has he, perhaps, begun to doubt the Divine promise of the general safety? Yea, does not this supposition find a distinct support in the declaration: "Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved" (ver. 31)? For, has it not, after this declaration, quite the appearance as if now the preservation of the lives of all of them were made entirely to depend upon the conduct of those who are to be wrecked; while, according to the former declaration (ver. 24), it must have appeared as a work of Divine mercy alone? And yet, even apart from every thing which here appears, we can certainly suppose every thing possible, rather than such a feeling of insecurity in the innermost soul of the Apostle. We do not, moreover, perceive the slightest change or perturbation in the conduct of the Apostle. There are, even now, in his observing and acting, the same confidence and security, which command respect; and, in his manner and conduct, the same sympathy and kindness which cannot but awaken courage and confidence. If the innermost centre of his nature had been shaken in reality, as it has been apparently, this unchangeableness of his whole conduct would, indeed, be an impossibility. We are, therefore, compelled to seek for another solution of the difficulty. Even as regards the general promise of the Lord which had previously been given to St Paul in Jerusalem,—that he should reach Rome in safety,—we were obliged to remark that, by this Divine promise, his own co-operation was not excluded, either in the proceedings at Cesarea, or in the voyage hitherto. The same remark is applicable here also,—

only that, on account of the greater distinctness with which the Divine promise and grace here appear, the human co-operation appears to be so much the more strange, especially since, in the passage before us, everything is made to depend upon that co-operation. But, in reality, we are by this state of things only compelled to abandon entirely all unchristian ideas of the relation between God and man, and so much the more earnestly to conceive of this relation in that simplicity and purity in which it is supposed to exist, and has for ever been sealed, by the personal unity of God and man in Christ Jesus. Even Calvin, holding, as he does, the doctrine of predestination, sees himself compelled by this passage to put us in mind of the necessity of human co-operation in the execution of the Divine decrees, although, by the succeeding limitation, all the truth and significance of free human action is again taken away. For when Calvin continues: "Yet, nevertheless, it does not follow that the hand of God is bound to means or helps; but when God ordains this or that mode of acting, He restrains the powers of men, so that they cannot leap beyond the limits assigned to them by Him," we at once see that Calvin does not venture to conceive of the human activity as, in any sense whatsoever, a cause.

But, with such narrowmindedness and timidity, which is relieved only after having, on every occasion, arrived at the thought of God's sovereignty and power, even although all liberty and independence of human will and nature should melt away into a mere semblance, nothing is more certain, than that men, with such a tendency of thought, are unable to comprehend the meaning of what is here expressed by the words and actions of the Apostle. We must, on the contrary, always fall back upon this;—that a right and perfect reliance upon God is so far from excluding human acting and working, that that reliance is the most original and the most powerful spring of all human movement and action; just as, on the other hand, the full measure of all human self-action has complete reliance upon God for its necessary foundation.[1] It is for this reason that, by the distinct Divine promise concerning the preservation of all the souls in the ship, St Paul feels himself to be only the more deeply and directly

[1] Just the doctrine of Calvin.—[*Tr.*]

impelled to make use of all his powers for the attainment of this object. On the other hand, from the extraordinary measure of his ingenuity and energy, we perceive that with his innermost soul he must be rooted and grounded in the depth of Divine grace. And indeed the ingenuity displayed by the Apostle, during that midnight, at the horrible conspiracy of the sailors, is very extraordinary. For, in order to discover that plan, St Paul required not only to observe distinctly all the movements of the sailors, and all the circumstances connected with the ship, but also to form a judgment regarding what was necessary, and what was not. How otherwise could he have known that, when the sailors lowered the boat, under the pretext that they were to cast anchor at the prow, they could not intend to do what they pretended, and, hence, must have formed the wicked intention of making their escape? For St Paul does not merely suspect their wicked counsel; he perceives its existence with clearness and certainty. Whilst formerly he had proved himself to be acquainted with the sea and the weather, he now, in the darkness of the stormy night, shows that he understands how a ship in danger of being wrecked is to be managed. This fact of his sharp glance, by means of which he penetrates, notwithstanding all the darkness of the night, into the depth of the distress of the stranding vessel, with as great certainty as he does into the abyss of the sailors' wickedness, is made still more plain by the circumstance that the Centurion with his soldiers had perceived nothing of the threatening danger, although it was they who properly were appointed to exercise the superintendence, and although their own lives, at all events, were more concerned than that of St Paul.

With great confidence and presence of mind, St Paul now turns at once towards his military companions; and from the circumstance that the soldiers at once resolutely cut the ropes by which the boat had been lowered (ver. 31), and thus, without reluctance or hesitation, consign to the sea an evident means of preservation, we see how unconditionally this military band now trusts to the word of St Paul, and it is thus anew confirmed, how these representatives of the Roman Empire, who were most worldly and most hostile to the Spirit, manifest a pre-eminent susceptibility for the kingdom of Christ. And it is also manifest, at the same time, that the Apostle's tried and proved love has, by no means,

been lost upon his heathen companions, although the crew, in this moment of the danger of death, may seem to have remained altogether unimpressed. Let us only realize what an amount of confidence in the knowledge and disposition of St Paul was required when, against the will and intention of the sailors, and in the face of the danger of death, the soldiers, upon the mere word of St Paul, make use of force, and give up to the sea the boat of deliverance. Indeed, this unconditional confidence in the word of St Paul, on the part of the Roman warriors, is the best acknowledgment of his knowledge and love arising out of the depth of the Spirit. It is just, therefore, by the circumstance that St Paul does not allow himself to be discouraged, when, upon his touching and deeply-founded exhortation and comforting address, not even the slightest trace of an impression upon the whole heathen assembly is to be recognized; but that, on the foundation of the Divine promise, he continues to employ all the powers of his body and soul in order to accomplish the deliverance of the whole body of men which was decreed in the counsel of God;—it is just thereby that he at length gains a distinct influence upon his companions, and attains the object which he had in view. And in this we behold reflected, as in a mirror, and in the most lively and instructive manner, the relation and labour of the Church towards the heathen world. Just as the Apostle of the Gentiles, so the Gentile Church has the promise of that God, whose she is and whom she serves, that the whole Gentile world shall be given to her,—all that, namely, which constitutes the fulness of the Gentiles (*τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν*, Rom. xi. 25). Like her Apostle, so the Gentile Church receives this promise, after having entered with full sympathy and love into the lost condition of the heathen world,—after she has perceived and felt that, in deed and in truth, she is shut up with the Gentile nations in a frail vessel on the turbulent sea of the world. Her sympathizing and bearing with them outwardly, her praying and supplicating for them inwardly, by means of which the Church, along with the nations, goes up and down amidst the storms and tempests of the roaring ocean of the world,—these are the grounds on account of which the Church, which cannot be swallowed up even by the abyss of hell, receives the fulness of the Gentiles for an equal preservation and salvation. But, as little

as her great Apostle and example, is the Gentile Church, although standing on the foundation of this Divine promise, permitted to desist for a moment from her labour. It is just the reverse; for it is just this Divine security which is to inspire her with strength and ability for bestirring herself, and for acting in a way such as the world has yet never, nor anywhere, seen. It is just because she knows that it is her holy and Divine Head who, by the hand of His omnipotent love, saves and brings up to life the sinking heathen world,—it is just for this reason that she knows herself to be called to accomplish this salvation and regeneration of the Gentiles by means of her watching and labouring, her word and her work.

After St Paul has, by his persevering watchfulness and quick resolution, removed the impending danger, and has gained the general esteem by his conduct, a most significant period of rest takes place under the mediation of St Paul. There is now no longer any doubt that the vessel, which is still holding up the whole body of the travellers over the roaring abyss, must, in a short time, go to pieces; the boat,—the only means of connexion between the stranding vessel and the saving shore,—has been cast adrift upon the sea; the whole travelling company must now perceive that they are given up and exposed to the elements, both above and beneath; and, in addition, night, which still refuses to yield to the day, spreads dark horrors over this desperate condition. But even this night has its bright morning star; and that is the sure hope in the unfailing word of promise which beams in the heart of Paul with never-fading brightness. Once already had the Apostle endeavoured to communicate to his fellow voyagers his good confidence in the safety of every soul, and, thereby, to break through the dark desponding disposition which had seized all of them; but in vain. The situation has, meanwhile, become still more threatening, and the disposition, no doubt, still more depressed. But, inasmuch as St Paul perceives that his authority is again gaining a footing in their hearts, he again endeavours to make the morning rays of his hope to shine into the night of the general despondency (vv. 33, 34). In express words he now declares that to which he had already alluded in his first address,—namely, that in the view of the deliverance promised to them by God, the desponding ones

should give up their sad and weakening abstinence from meat and drink. And in order to give the strongest emphasis to his exhortation, he himself takes the bread, gives thanks to God in presence of them all, breaks it, and begins to eat (ver. 35). Need we wonder that this word and deed make an irresistible impression upon their minds? They all have before their eyes the stranding of the ship, their being given up to the waves of the deep, and to the winds of heaven; and no one can doubt that St Paul has to share the same fate. And now they all see, not only that St Paul is himself of good cheer, but is able also to encourage others; that in the face of this danger of death,—in the face of the raging elements, he avails himself of, and enjoys the present moment; that he joyfully takes the bread, breaks it, and strengthens himself for the final struggle with the wind and waves. For when Paul says: τοῦτο γὰρ,—namely the taking of the long wanted daily food,—πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑπάρχει, he, of course, means that strengthening by means of food is necessary for the safety of each individual, because no one shall be absolved from the necessity of employing his power for saving himself from shipwreck. Does he then derive his confidence and assurance from the circumstance that he trusts in his own strength and skill, in case that the ship would no longer hold him up over the abyss? Such a support would, to himself, be a very poor and frail one for his own safety; and a confidence and hope embracing the whole of his companions in misfortune would, at all events, be altogether out of the question. St Paul has, even now, his hope and assurance in his God alone. That he manifests by his offering thanks for the bread granted to him, in the presence of all, as St Luke expressly adds. This word of thanks to his God must, of course, remind all those who were present of the promise of this God which St Paul had but lately communicated to his companions in the voyage. And certainly this much could not but impress itself upon the convictions of all of them:—that a man in the midst of the danger of death can, with such truth, give thanks to his God for the bread bestowed, only if, with the firm hand of faith, he has taken hold of this God as the Saviour and Deliverer in the midst of death. This assurance and joy which look upon the surrounding yawning abyss as if it were a harbour of refuge,--which, with perfect security, avail

themselves of the present moment in the vessel about to be wrecked, and gratefully receive from the hand of God the present morsel of meat,—such assurance and joy have the power of arousing the whole desponding assembly from their dulness and despair, and of inspiring them with the same joyful courage, and hope of life. All are now of good cheer and take food, and are thereby strengthened, so that every one, on his own behalf, is, in the imminent danger of death, able to work out his deliverance.

The more anxious that the Apostle evidently is that every one should, on his part, appropriate to himself by his own co-operation the deliverance which is decreed and promised by God, and which is to be so complete that not an hair should fall from the head of any one (see ver. 34; comp. Luke xxi. 18), the more careful St Luke is in describing graphically all the single circumstances which accompanied, and gave rise to the safety of the men. Strengthened in body and soul by the word and example of St Paul, and by the food from which they had so long abstained, the men begin the work of their deliverance by lightening the ship, and by casting into the sea the corn (*τὸν σῖτον*, ver. 38) with which she was laden. For the expression *ὁ σῖτος*, must not—as Meyer thinks—be understood of the provisions for those who were in the ship, but of the corn which the Alexandrian ship had taken on board as her cargo for Italy. This is evident, not only from the circumstance that, even although we take into account the great number of men in the vessel, the provisions are, for a large sea-vessel, a comparatively trifling burden; but also from this that, otherwise, the heaviest part of the lading would not be named at all, although several times (see vv. 18, 19—38) a lightening of the ship is mentioned. As is seen from the verse immediately following, the lightening which is spoken of here has a purpose quite different from those previously mentioned. For whilst, hitherto, all that has been undertaken, has been so for the purpose of saving ship and cargo, and thereby, as a matter of course, the men also; their object now evidently is to make the vessel be stranded (see ver. 39); and the lightening is for the purpose of allowing the vessel, in running aground, to come as near as possible to the land, in order that thus the men might the more easily and safely get on shore.

Whilst thus they were formerly anxious to preserve vessel and cargo, and, thereby, the men also, they are now resolved to give up ship and cargo, in order thereby the more surely to snatch the souls from danger. Now, it is in this that the farther effect of St Paul's word and conduct becomes very manifest. For when all former care and labour for preserving the vessel, and the lives depending upon it, had been in vain, general despondency and dull indifference took place. But St Paul has banished this spirit of dumb despondency by means of the Divine promise of the safety of all the souls, and by the joyful, actual appropriation of this promise; and hence there now exists the courage also to give up ship and cargo for the sake of the safety of the men; and, if the men cannot be saved in any other way, to assist with their own hands, in giving over ship and cargo to the elements. The position strongly reminds us of the deliverance of Lot and his house from Sodom and Gomorrah. It was Lot's sin that he had gone into the valley of Siddim, and had become an inhabitant of Sodom; for, in making this choice, he had looked upon the beauty and fertility of the country, and not upon the godlessness and wickedness of the men (see Gen. xiii. 10—13). For the sake of this sin it is that he can save his own soul only; and even that only in such a way as to make it necessary for him to renounce all his present possessions, and to give them up to the general destruction and ruin of the town. And because it is just this decided renunciation of all goods and possessions which is intended, he and his house are enjoined not even to look back to the place of their possessions (see Gen. xix. 17, 29). To such decision Lot could, of course, attain, only after he had freed himself inwardly from that outward tendency in which he had chosen Sodom as his residence; and the looking back of his wife is just the consequence of this want of the necessary change of heart,—for which reason the punishment is so severe. In like manner, the fellow-travellers of St Paul are saved only by entering the same narrow gate of a change of heart. Against St Paul's advice, they ventured out into the insecurity of a wintry sea. To such a daring step, to such a rebellion against the natural arrangements of God, they could have come only in their blind and passionate excitement which must have been caused by the avaricious desire of gain. It is for this reason that St

Paul, at first, cannot help reminding them, in the midst of their distress, of their obstinate resistance, and representing the loss of all the goods as the necessary consequence of this pride (ὕβρις, ver. 21). After this declaration of St Paul, no one can derive any joy from his comforting promise and encouragement, who had not previously submitted to his first word which referred to the past, and had thereby admitted that, by his perverseness, he himself had had a share in the loss of the ship and its goods, and who had, thereby, also been enabled willingly to resign himself to the loss of his own goods. This change of mind is implied even in the circumstance that, after the encouraging word of St Paul, they all are of good cheer (see ver. 36); and hence it is not to be wondered at, that now, having the comforting promise of St Paul for the foundation and support of their whole disposition of mind, and conduct, they are even able to work out the saving of their lives by exerting themselves to give up the vessel, which hitherto had formed the sole foundation of their confidence, and, along with it, the goods which it contained.

St Luke now endeavours graphically to represent in detail how, under the existing circumstances, the deliverance was effected. The emptying of the vessel of all her freight was the general introductory step towards driving her ashore. This latter measure, however, can be undertaken only when there is day light: "And when it was day," so St Luke goes on, "they knew not the land; but they discovered a certain creek which had a shore" (ver. 39). I think that Meyer has rightly expressed the sense of this simple narrative by saying: "So much they see; there is a creek and land belonging to it, and St Luke simply relates what represented itself to the eager eyes of the people. And this perception was to them a sufficient reason for their resolution of landing there, if possible." It is to them altogether a matter of indifference what land it is on which they are being stranded; all that they care for is, that it be land in opposition to the abyss of the sea; all that they are anxious about, is that it may have a shore. There now begins an activity (ver. 40) which is as distinctly and strongly directed to effect the stranding of the vessel, as their former activity was directed to effect its preservation. Here Luther's translation, and many interpreters, mislead the reader; Meyer has undoubtedly fixed upon the true

meaning. With respect to the four acts of this activity, Meyer thus expresses himself: "(1.) They cut away the (four) anchors round about (περιελόντες), and left them in the sea, in order that they might neither lose time, nor burden the vessel with their weight. (2.) At the same time, they loosed the bands with which they had tied the helms to the ship, in order to secure them from the violence of the wind while they were lying at anchor; but now they wished to use them in bringing the ship ashore. (3.) They hoisted up the top sail before the wind, and thus took their direction (κατεῖχον) towards the shore (εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν)." On the subject of the farther explanation of these operations, Vömel remarks on this passage: "The large merchantmen of the Ancients had commonly two helms,—one at each side of the stern (see intr. ad Lucian. Toxar, c. 6; Böckh, Urkunden des Attischen Seewesens, S. 125; Berghaus, Geschichte der Schifffahrt, i., 427, seqq.). These helms were not so firmly connected with the ship as are ours, but could easily be taken out,—as much so as the oars and sails (see Euripid. Helen., 1536; Herodot. iii. 136; Athen viii. p. 361. B.). In storms, or when the same course was to be continued for some time, they tied the helms that they might remain in the same position. During the storm which the Apostle had to encounter, they had been fast bound; but now that they wished to make for the land, they loosed the bands that they might be able to steer. The sail mentioned in this verse is the *Artemon*, *i.e.* a sail different from those connected with the large and the smallest mast,—the smallest sail according to Böckh (l. c. S. 140). A larger sail would have given too much power to the wind."

This effort is followed by a result which, under the existing circumstances, may, upon the whole, be called happy. They ran the ship on an isthmus (τόπος διθάλασσος); and although the hinder part was thereby destroyed by the force of the waves, yet the fore-part took a firm hold in the sandy shore (ver. 41). But in this position there suddenly arises a new danger for a portion of the men, and among them, St Paul. Formerly (see ver. 30), during the dangerous navigation, the crew had been willing to give up to destruction the lives of all the remaining men; now, it is the soldiers whose counsel it is to kill all the prisoners, for fear that any might escape by swimming (ver. 42). It is

here not some selfish purpose which interferes with and disturbs the work of deliverance, as had been the case in the treacherous intentions of the crew. On the contrary, the Roman soldiers remain, even now, faithful to the character of their class, with which we have already frequently met. The soldiers have evidently no other intention than that of complying with their strict military order, according to which they are, as far as circumstances permit, responsible for the keeping of the prisoners committed to them. It is true that they ought to have been kept from this exaggerated severity by the thought that, in this case, they must attack the life of that man also who more than once, and more than any one, had proved himself a saviour and deliverer in this distress. Besides the inhuman cruelty against the prisoners in general, and St Paul particularly, implied in their intention, there was in it also a complete abandonment of confidence in the assurance and promise of St Paul, and, hence, an entire abandonment of the disposition to which they had just attained, and which, both in a Divine and human point of view, was necessary for their sharing in the promise of deliverance which was held out to them. We thus again see how the deliverance decreed and promised by God is ever anew endangered by the interference of man; and how, at the same time, human instrumentality appears ever anew as essentially necessary for the deliverance. For what is it that, here also, hinders and breaks the evil counsel of men. It is alone the individuality of the Apostle Paul. He does not, it is true, appear here as speaking and acting; that would have been useless, considering that the soldiers had made up their minds, and were possessed of the power; but the position which, by his former conduct, St Paul had gained for himself is a silent power which, even then, exerts its strength and influence when he himself is altogether silent. The commander of the soldiers, although himself he in so far approves of the plan of his men, and hence is himself fully prepared for the fearful and cruel severity of Roman discipline, is earnestly desirous of delivering St Paul; and, for this reason, he prevents the execution of the plan proposed by those under his command. Thus St Paul again becomes a deliverer and saviour for his companions in misfortune. It is, however, doubtless the unexampled conduct of the Apostle which has increased the

original kindness of Julius towards him, so far as to make him so decidedly willing to save St Paul, even in opposition to the intention of his soldiers. The decided benevolence of the military commander towards St Paul becomes the cause that, according to the position due to him, he takes the lead and direction in this last work of deliverance. It is he who commands those who were able to swim to get to land first, and who afterwards orders the remainder to seek their safety on the planks, or other pieces of the wrecked vessel (ver. 43, 44). After St Luke has thus shown how, in all its steps, even to the last, the deliverance has been accomplished by human instrumentality, he can now, in closing, report the happy result: *καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο, πάντας διασωθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν* (ver. 44). By this close, he clearly refers to the former Divine promises (ver. 22, 24, 34), and points out that, as regards this territory, we must consider the Divine rule to be:—that the Divine promise is accomplished by human instrumentality, and that it was for this reason that so much stress had to be laid on the details of this instrumentality.

After having thus seen how very important it is, in this whole narrative, to take all these events in their simple reality, and naked, natural appearance; we cannot forbear now to take, once more, a retrospective view of the whole matter, and to look beyond the outward sphere in which the whole narrative primarily moves. For how perverse soever it may be to undervalue the outward reality of these things,—of what importance and moment soever it is, for the most spiritual questions, to acknowledge and to urge the Divine right of the whole outward territory which is here brought before us;—it would not be the less perverse to overlook the fact, that, in these events, there is still something more,—that, in these outward affairs, there is reflected something which is internal and spiritual. This is suggested to us by the very connexion in which we find our narrative. The object which the writer of our Book has in view is, as he announces at the very commencement (see i. 8), the extension of the Gospel to the ends of the earth. How constantly he holds to this subject, is proved by the close also of the Book. Now we have seen that the whole external sphere in which the account of the voyage under consideration moves, has, for this

evangelical point of view, an importance which can never be sufficiently acknowledged. But still, the strange form of this narrative would become far more intelligible to us, if we were permitted to assume a spiritual background in its outward aspect, and were able to establish it; for, in that case, even the last appearance of a strange impression of this portion of our Book would be compelled to vanish. Now we know, indeed, very well that, on biblical ground, there exists such a mode of narration as keeps within the sphere of external nature, and is quite in earnest with it, but whose aim is, nevertheless, something higher and spiritual. This we find in the Old Testament history. Are we not, then, by the context and contents of our section, very strongly pointed and directed to this analogy? We have seen, indeed, that the Old Testament development of Israel has not followed that destination for, and direction to the sea which were placed before the people from the very outset, and that, in this respect, we have to consider our narrative as a supplement to Old Testament history. Is it not then very obvious also that this supplement to Old Testament history—if we may call it so—has this resemblance also to Old Testament narrative, that here, in the sphere of the natural, the kingdom of the Spirit is represented? And, indeed, the external form of our narrative is so conspicuous that, in many features, we could, in the exposition given above, not omit to direct attention to their spiritual signification.

We said that, in the inmates of the ship, a representation of the whole heathen world is given; that, in the ship driving on the waves of the sea, we must recognize the condition of the Gentile nations, according to the Old Testament notion of the sea, as well as according to the notion of the Gentiles. Now it is, as St Luke most expressly reports, the crew with their commanders who, by their own pride, have brought the danger to the ship, the cargo, and their own lives. But just so is the condition of all the Gentile nations and kingdoms. Everywhere the Gentiles have incurred guilt, and that not as individuals only—every one in his own sphere—but as large communities also which have been formed in a natural and historical manner. For these latter have not, as they ought to have, confided with holy fear in the living God, but in the powers and spirits of the world, who afforded

greater and greater scope to human pride and insolence. Hence it is that not individuals only are endangered, but the larger communities also, of which the individuals are members. That is the danger which threatens ship, cargo, and men. There is one hope only which exists in this general danger of the whole heathen world,—namely, the communion into which the Church of Christ enters with this death-threatened heathen world,—a communion which is distinctly represented by that of St Paul and his companions with all the men in the vessel. But the more clearly that, in this communion of St Paul, we recognized the fulfilment of that to which the history of Jonah points,—and hence the more plainly we saw, in St Paul, the true Jonah;—the more clearly must we behold the Lord himself, in His presence and power, in the Apostle Paul in the midst of the Gentiles. The only hope of the heathen world then is Christ, who, by means of His Spirit and Church, comes with His loving presence into the midst of the Gentiles, and descends to them in all their depths. It is thus the compassionate sympathizing love of Christ, comprehending the whole heathen world, which is here brought before us. This love is not directed to individuals merely, but also to the large communities to which the individuals belong,—just as St Paul interests and exerts himself not only for the men in the vessel, but also for the ship and cargo. It is true that, neither by his labours nor by his prayer, has St Paul secured the preservation of the ship and cargo; the lives of the individuals only are given to him. This feature comes out in the kingdom of the Spirit after this manner:—that single individuals only from among the Gentiles receive the promise of salvation, but not the large organisms, of which, by their natural and corporeal foundation, they are the members,—such as nations and states. From the very commencement we saw this to be a law in the ministry of the Apostle of the Gentiles; and this direction to individuals appeared to us as peculiar to him. For, since the basis of nations and states is a natural and corporeal one, these forms of human communion do not share any other fate than the body of the individual. As the body of the individual is unavoidably under the power of death, and as the grace of Christ does not make any change in this law of death; so the bodies of the nations and states are subject to the same power of death.

As little as the ship with the cargo could be preserved by the prayer and love of St Paul, as certainly is it a mistake to imagine that nations and states, as such, enter into the kingdom of Christ, and thereby, as such, become partakers of Divine, eternal life. But the narrative under consideration shows that this want of the promise is by no means to be considered as an undervaluing, or contempt of these great forms of communities among mankind. For it is not merely the master and the mate of the vessel who have cared for the preservation of the ship and cargo, but the Apostle Paul also; yea, when the matter is properly and thoroughly examined, St Paul has exerted himself and cared for these things far more even than these, with all their men. Thus the Church of Christ also has embraced, with cordial love, all the nations and states among the Gentiles to whom she has come, and has laboured and wrestled, with all zeal, for their preservation. But though she may succeed in this for a time, the Church at last must fare with these things as the Apostle did with his ship, and its wares and goods. The sin of the single individuals is too deeply grown together with these communities, to admit of a healing of the individuals without their being loosed and separated from these communities;—just as the single individuals in the ship do not expect their safety from the Word of God, until their present hold, viz., the ship with her cargo, threatens to give way. But the more it has the appearance as if thereby ship and cargo, as such, were to be despised; and the more strongly that the dangerous delusion and error may thus force themselves upon us, as if nations and states, as such, were an obstacle to the pure and holy development of the individual;—the more it is necessary and instructive to bear in mind the parallel of the body of the individual. For, as it can enter the minds of foolish men only that St Paul teaches a contempt of the body when he demands of believers that they crucify the flesh (see Gal. v. 24), and to mortify the members which are upon the earth (see Coloss. iii. 5); so also it cannot be considered as a proof of contempt of this territory, when upon individuals, in their relation to their national and political community, even the strongest self-denial is imposed.

But the most striking proof of the assertion that the severity of Holy Scripture against the body of the individual is not to be

conceived of as a suppression or violation of its original Divine prerogatives, is always afforded by the hope, which is steadily held fast, of the resurrection of the flesh which had fallen a prey to death and corruption. Now, is there any thing analogous in the territory of human communities? There is, indeed, such an analogy afforded in the resuscitation of the nationality of Israel, to which all other nations and communities are to be organically joined. It will, indeed, be individuals only from among the Gentiles who, in order to save their souls, have renounced their connexion with their natural spheres of communion which, therefore, are liable to corruption; and it is they only who shall enter into this new communion with resuscitated Israel, and, thereby, acquire again a new and sanctified nationality. But these single individuals are not to be valued according to their number, but according to their influence and disposition. As far, however, as this is concerned, they are just those who, in faith and spirit, have held fast the true nature of their nationality and political order, and maintained it so long against their unbelieving compatriots, till they have appropriated to themselves the whole substance of their popular and political order, and their adversaries have become emptied and stripped of its true essence. It is, of course, a matter of indifference what, after such internal wrestling and struggles, the outward position of these individuals has become. At all events they are the representatives of the different nations,—representatives not only perfectly sufficient, but even the sole representatives,—so that, by their entering into the sanctified nationality of Israel, the people obtain a share in the completed kingdom of God,—a share corresponding to their original character. Although, then, these single individuals apparently hate their national and political order for the sake of the salvation of their souls, yet they are, in truth, the real lovers of the true essence of their people and state; and that which they hate is nothing else than the corruption which has come in by sin, and which clings to the natural condition of the national and political life;—and for this reason, that hatred has its foundation just in the love of the original, God-created substance of nationality and political order. In the same manner, they who, in the power of the Spirit, most willingly mortify their bodies, are just they who are most anxious and active for the true and eternal substance of

their bodies. It must, accordingly, be acknowledged, as a very significant feature in our narrative, that St Paul, who leads and induces all by his word and example joyfully to renounce the ship and her cargo, is, of all of them, he who, from the very commencement, had displayed the greatest anxiety for both ship and cargo.

The manner and instrumentality by which the salvation (*σωτηρία*) is to be brought out, is in our narrative represented in a way as plain as it is remarkable. That which, according to our account, is to be saved, and really is saved (*σωθῆναι*, ver. 31, *διασωθῆναι*, ver. 44; xxviii. 1), is the whole number of the souls (see ver. 22, 37, 44). According to the order of nature, indeed, the soul does not exist by itself, but is connected with the body, and by the body with the earth, and its blessings, and gifts. But since, by sin, the original relation which was established by God between soul and body, has been disturbed and perverted, it is necessary that first a separation should be made, and the soul be represented as the Divine and spiritual foundation of human nature. It is then that a new and ever-abiding beginning is gained, with which a new, pure, and unpolluted development may connect itself. But now, how is this *σωτηρία* of the soul accomplished? As the first and abiding cause, the grace of God meets us; for it is thus that the angel of God speaks to St Paul: *καὶ ἰδοὺ κεχάρισταί σοι ὁ θεὸς πάντας τοὺς πλέοντας μετα σοῦ*, ver. 24. But this grace of God is not a suppression of the original human order and nature, but is offered through the mediation of St Paul, in his love and care for his companions in misfortune. The conduct and actions of the Apostle Paul, however, point us back to the Lord who has called him out of death into life, who now lives in him, and without whom he does, and can do, nothing. The love of the Lord Jesus Christ, His work and sufferings, are, humanly speaking, the medium through which the grace of God sinks into mankind, and connects itself with the original creation of mankind. It is thus the grace of God, through the mediation of Jesus Christ, which is here announced and exhibited as the only ground of salvation. For this salvation by Divine grace was announced only after all human power and hope of salvation had disappeared in the ship,—when even St Paul was seized with the fear of death. For this reason, the only right

position of man towards this deliverance and salvation is faith; and, by that very same word, St Paul himself designates the position in which he has found peace and good hope (see ver. 25.) And, evidently, it is, in all the others, nothing else which induces them at length to overcome their anxiety and fear of death, than the belief in the Divine promise by the mouth of the Apostle (see ver. 36). Now, since faith is nothing but mere susceptibility, the activity of man in the salvation of his soul is, in this respect, equal to nothing; and hence it is mistaking the truth to speak of human co-operation in this first cause of salvation by which a commencement is made, and the foundation is laid. It is just the narrative under consideration, indeed, which shows to us most emphatically that it is not so to be understood as if, thereby, all human co-operation for salvation were excluded, but that, as soon as this foundation of salvation has been laid and finished solely by the all-sufficient grace of God, man's own co-operation is as necessary for the completion of the salvation of, and in man, and that, without it, salvation can never, nor anywhere be accomplished. But how little this human co-operation can be considered as, in any way, detrimental to the Divine agency, appears with sufficient clearness from the circumstance, that the only foundation on which this co-operation rests, is a belief in the Divine promise, *i.e.*, a simple reception of God's grace, which is all-sufficient, and does not stand in need of any supplement. Not one moment sooner than a man has become fully assured of, and inspired with courage by the truth of this promise, and has been strengthened thereby (see ver. 36), is he able to move a member of his body for his salvation. Hence the human acting which necessarily presupposes the completed and perfect acting of God, has an appearance which corresponds exactly with the relation which, from the beginning, was established between God and man. For man is formed by God's power and love alone, for the purpose of being enabled afterwards to form himself. If, then, as regards the working out of the salvation of souls, the real and essential *σωτηρία*, which, according to the fundamental passage in Rom. i. 16, is the final aim and object of the Gospel, St Paul, in Phil. ii. 12, expresses himself in such a manner as to insist upon man's working and exerting himself (*μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου τὴν σωτηρίαν ἑαυτῶν ἐργαζεσθε*) as much, as he, on the other hand, ascribes to God's goodness alone everything which is

necessary for salvation, both to will and to do; this is just the sum and substance of the thought which has, in our narrative, found an adequate embodiment and representation. For we saw that it was brought out, in the account under consideration, not only that the grace of God is the necessary condition and foundation of salvation, but also (see ver. 31, 34) that human co-operation is absolutely necessary. But it is not only the fact—which is here represented in an external manner—that these two agents in the production of salvation exist and stand on an equal footing beside each other;—we saw, moreover, that even the right relation of these two agents,—namely, that the Divine agent must necessarily precede and lay the foundation—has, in the natural sphere of our narrative, found its self-evident expression; just as in the passage Phil. ii. 12, it is assumed as a thing taken for granted. Finally—This too must not be overlooked;—that the union of these two agents appears here, in the territory of the outward world, as an original principle which does not stand in need of any proof, as plainly as in Phil. ii. 12, the same principle appears in the sphere of the spiritual world. This circumstance must so much the more be noted and attended to, the farther it is from our usual mode of thinking to comprehend these two aspects in one. But by this perception we are naturally convinced how deeply our usual mode of thinking and of viewing things is still involved in the dualism caused by sin, and how very little the union of God and man in the person and history of Jesus Christ has been made by us the abiding and sure foundation of all our thinking about things Divine and human.

One might suppose that, at the point where the salvation of the men from the danger of the sea has been accomplished, the allegorical import of our narrative should also have come to a close. But, in this spiritual tendency, for which the course of the outward events in this part of our book must serve, there is such a deep earnestness, that this spiritual tendency reaches and appears even beyond the point alluded to. A closer consideration of the farther course of the events of the voyage, as it is given to us in chap. xxviii., will convince us of it, and a new light will be thrown upon one aspect of it, by the manner in which the salvation was accomplished. It may, indeed, appear strange to us that although the salvation is represented as being willed and effected

by God, there does not, in the whole course of it, appear a single supernatural feature. On the contrary, every thing seems to be expressly intended to bring to our mind and knowledge the natural connexion in all its fulness and completeness. The appearance of the angel who brings to St Paul the message of the Divine counsel of salvation, is indeed a thing by which the immediate power of God enters into, and interferes with the natural and human connexion of things. But beyond that altogether isolated point, the immediate Divine interference has no place. After, by the indwelling power of this Divine miracle, faith in the message has been produced in the soul of the Apostle, and after, through the medium of the Apostle, the same faith has been produced in the souls of his companions in misfortune, the order of the natural connexion again returns, and no farther interruption is to be conceived of; so that even for the Apostle Paul and his companions there remains, for their salvation, nothing beyond the use of all precautions to render the stranding of the ship as little dangerous as possible, and to seek to work their way through the power of winds and waves to the safe shore, either by swimming or by seizing some plank or beam of the wrecked vessel. It is in the light of just our Book, that this feature in the external history is of importance for the spiritual sense which we have here found to be every where shining through. The circumstance that Jesus, the Lord and Christ, has been removed from all connexion with the earthly sphere into the invisible concealment of the heavenly kingdom, makes it evident that, for this whole present course of time, no change takes place on earth; and that, for all which is new, there is no other access but in the way of the Spirit who is able to enter even through the barred gates of the natural connexion, and in the way of faith which is the receptive organ, not so much for what is earthly, as for what is heavenly.

But if, at the wrecking of the ship, and the destruction of their goods, the salvation of the men from the waves of the sea be the preservation and salvation of the souls who work out their salvation by giving up all outward and bodily conditions of life; then the existence after the entrance of this salvation must be the life of the sanctified and beatified souls from among the Gentiles. And, indeed, the farther course of our narrative represents itself

in this light. The life after their deliverance is, in the first instance, again a life on earth,—for the place to which the shipwrecked men come, is land, and a portion of the earth (ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, xxvii. 44). For the saved souls are not to lead a psychical life merely, but are again to be connected with the bodily organisms created for them, and in which the bodies are transformed and purified into a condition in accordance with their sanctified souls. In this it is implied that this renewed human condition has a reference to, and a destination for the earth, from which the body is taken. We have already remarked above, that this renovation of the bodily and national existence is of importance and significance, not only to the single individuals, but also to the nations; inasmuch as the people of Israel have the promise of an eternal life, and that in this nation all other nations are to receive a future existence. But the earthly and bodily existence after the completed salvation of the soul is not a repetition of the first life on this earth in the body of death. For this reason, the land to which the saved ones come is surrounded by the sea, and beyond the sea,—an island,—a notion under which the heathens also were accustomed to conceive of the abode of the blessed. As it had been foretold by St Paul (see ver. 26), so it happens. The island to which the saved ones escaped, was the island of Melita (see xxviii. 1). By far the greatest number of interpreters are agreed that this name designates the island which is now called Malta. The opinion of a few, that this name points to a small island in the Adriatic Sea is more and more plainly seen to be based on prejudice. Altogether apart from the circumstance that even the name of Melita suggests to us the well known island of Malta (see Meyer on the passage), the observations which have been made on the place and spot have, according to the testimonies of Smith and Dr Pinkerton (see Vömel l. c. p. 9), settled it beyond any dispute, that tradition, which transfers the locality of the shipwreck here narrated to an eastern creek of the island of Malta, is in strict accordance with the most careful statements of our account.

The inhabitants of the island of Melita are repeatedly (see ver. 2, 4) called barbarians; for the original inhabitants of Malta were neither Greeks nor Romans, but of Punic extraction (see Winer l. c.; Meyer, on the passage). The reason, however, why

this is rendered prominent by St Luke is, no doubt, the circumstance that, just on that account, the conduct of the inhabitants of the island is so much the more remarkable. For the very first thing which they do is an act of uncommon kindness (*οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν*, ver. 2), and this is intended to direct our attention to the fact that this kindness towards the saved men cannot result from the nature of the inhabitants of the island,—inasmuch as they are barbarians,—and must, therefore, have another foundation. Is this not a hint of the altogether altered basis of the present existence of the saved ones? As long as they were in the vessel, the whole fury of the elements from beneath and from above is let loose against them, and the wintry sea does not rest until it has broken to pieces all ground and soil beneath their feet. Here, at once, the human nature of the barbarians has been changed to exceeding benevolence and kindness towards those who have hitherto been so inexorably persecuted; and it is just as if the hostility of nature has satiated its fury in the shipwreck, and is, henceforth, not only fully calmed down, but changed into the opposite.

This, however, is still more distinctly seen in the subsequent occurrence. The kindness of the barbarians consisted in their kindling a fire for the shipwrecked, because of the rain and the cold, that they might warm themselves (ver. 2). St Paul still remains faithful to his disposition to manifest his entire sympathy with his travelling companions. He does not think it beneath his dignity, with his own hands, as formerly at the lightening of the ship (see xxvii. 19), to gather sticks and throw them into the fire. When engaged in this work, and coming near the fire with his hand full of sticks, it happened that a viper came out of the fire, and fastened on his hand (ver. 3). The opinion has indeed been advanced by Kühnol, that the viper was not poisonous, or that it did not bite the Apostle, as Bochart supposes. But Meyer is quite right in pointing out that in St Luke's minute mention of this circumstance, just the contrary of these two conjectures is clearly implied. For what other purpose could it be that St Luke so minutely and expressly describes the fastening of the viper on the hand of St Paul (ver. 3, 4), and that he mentions, so circumstantially, the expectation of the inhabitants of the island that he would suddenly fall down dead (ver. 5, 6), if all this were

based on delusion only,—if he had not proceeded upon the firm and well-founded conviction that a real danger to life was here in question? And, indeed, our whole attention is claimed by this circumstance,—that St Paul, who had proved himself the helper, adviser, and saviour of all the people in the ship, should now, after the deliverance has been effected, be bitten by the deadly bite of a poisonous serpent. With the barbarians who surrounded him, we too direct our eyes to the man poisoned by the serpent—and behold he flings back the beast into the fire. And with this the matter ends, so that the barbarians, the more they were convinced of the unavoidable effect of the bite of the serpent, and of the certain guilt of St Paul corresponding to such a sudden and striking death, must now all the more speedily and decidedly pass to the opposite opinion, that St Paul was a Divine person (ver 6). St Paul does not overcome the deadly poison which had entered his body, by looking to the uplifted serpent, as did the Israelites who were bitten in the wilderness by the serpents; but it is the vital power dwelling in him which frees itself from the beast and its poison, and gives it up to death. Such is the immediate, irresistible impression which the conduct of the Apostle makes upon us.

In him we thus find that victorious power which has put under foot all that is evil and hostile, and which renders of none effect even the worst phenomena of nature (see Luke x. 19), giving them over to deserved judgment. Hence it is that this dangerous and pernicious attack of the evil one is changed into the very opposite; inasmuch as this actual and manifest judgment upon that which is evil gives rise to the opinion of the barbarians, that a Divine Being was dwelling in the human form of the Apostle Paul. By the power over the evil, which thus dwells in the Apostle Paul, the island is represented as the earth, in which the evil, being judged and overcome by the will and spirit of man, is no more able to exercise any power, and where, therefore, the kingdom of God is able to manifest its sacred and beatifying powers without obstacles or restraint (see Rev. xx. 4). Let no one object that this future condition of the earth would have been more clearly and distinctly pointed out and manifested, if there had not been any serpents at all on the island, and if the poison of the serpent could not have reached the Apostle at all. For, since evil has,

after all, entered human nature, the victory of the good within the human sphere cannot be accomplished, either objectively or subjectively, in any other way than by human nature being manifested as having power over evil,—not over that which is distant and strange, but over that which is indwelling in, and has acquired power over human nature. Hence, we cannot fail to be of opinion that just this St Paul, who does not for a moment become terrified at the poison of the serpent which had entered into him, but by his immoveable will, makes this intended destruction of himself the occasion of having new, Divine honor paid to him, must be regarded as a perfectly adequate representative of the complete dominion of the kingdom of God on the renewed earth.

The same character of a new and higher degree of life meets us also in the feature which immediately follows. The chief man of the island is a certain Publius (ver. 7). This Roman name sufficiently proves that this man, designated as πρῶτος τῆς νήσου, is not one of the barbarous original inhabitants of the island, but is a Roman. How, now, should a Roman be the chief man of the island, unless he were the Roman Governor, and hence the delegate of the Praetor of Sicilia, to whose jurisdiction, according to Cic. Verr. iv. 18, Malta belonged, (compare Meyer on this passage)? According to an inscription found in Malta, and communicated by Grotius and Bochart (see Phaleg i. 26), the peculiar designation ὁ πρῶτος τῆς νήσου is one which is applied officially to the Roman Magistrate of Malta (see Meyer on the passage). We may, therefore, from this evidently intended feature of objective historical representation, draw the inference, that St Luke wishes that we should pay particular attention to this official quality of Publius, which is mentioned in our context. For if Publius be the Roman Legate, he is then, of course, the ruling head of all the inhabitants of the island, and his friendly relation to St Paul is a sign that, in this territory, a favourable disposition towards the messenger of God is the prevailing tendency. For it is mentioned that Publius received the saved ones with special kindness, and entertained them hospitably for three days (ver. 7). Since ἡμεῖς in this account of the journey, altogether apart from the introductory commencement (see xxviii.), must always be understood of the whole body

of the men, I see no reason for deviating here from this comprehensive sense of the word, and limiting it, as Calvin and Meyer do, to St Paul and his companions, and, perhaps, the Roman Centurion. From the brief mode in which the hospitable reception is mentioned, I would rather find a proof that Publius received the entire number of the 276 saved ones. Publius thus fully shares the kind disposition of the barbarians towards the shipwrecked ones, and has probably been determined to his specially courteous conduct towards the whole company of the travellers, to which St Paul belonged as the spiritual guide, by the wonderful manner in which the latter overcame the poison of the serpent.

When thus all the inhabitants of the island, with the Roman Legate at their head, received with such kindness the men who had been saved by the grace of God, and by the efforts of St Paul, the miraculous power which is active in this territory, and which dwells in St Paul, manifested itself towards all those in the island who were suffering. In the first instance, it was the father of Publius, in whose hospitable house the Apostle had been received, whom St Paul found sick, and upon whom he showed his miraculous power. By praying over the sick man (ver. 8), St Paul shows that the power and grace of God are the source of all miraculous power. By laying his hands on him, however, he shows that he is fully certain of the miraculous power received from God, and that he can bring it to bear on whomsoever he will. Since, by this miraculous healing, St Paul has been manifested as the bearer of Divine, miraculous power, all the sufferers apply to him, and are healed (ver. 9). In other passages of Scripture, indeed, we hear too of such general effectual miraculous healings; but never does the healing miraculous power appear so complete and so generally effectual as here. Considering the small circumference of the island, its completely isolated position, and the comparatively long stay of St Paul at Malta (ver. 11), we may with certainty assume that, on the whole island, there did not remain one sick person who did not find healing. There appears here, then, for the first time, a territory on which the promise of Jehovah is fulfilled, that there should not be any disease among His people (see Exod.

xv. 26); and this is a new confirmation of our supposition that, on this island, we have to expect a representation of the completed kingdom of God.

We must, of course, be again removed from this representation; inasmuch as the stay on the island of Malta can be an intervening period only, when we look to the goal which our Book has in view. The character of the end in this interlude is allowed to sink, and the island offers, meanwhile, all that was necessary for St Paul and his companions for continuing their journey. They find an Alexandrian vessel (ver. 11) which has done that which St Paul had formerly advised; it had sought the winter-haven at the right season (see xxvii. 10), and it reached Italy, while the former found, in the waves of the sea, the just punishment of its pride. As to this second and fortunate vessel, St Luke mentions that on its prow it had the sign of Castor and Pollux (see ver. 11; comp. Meyer on the passage). In this remark concerning the sign, that which strikes us is not only the carefulness with which St Luke has attended to the greatest, as well as to the smallest matters connected with this voyage,—a carefulness which we have already had occasion frequently to notice—but also that in this context St Luke intends by this remark to indicate something of importance. For, by the sign at the prow, this second Alexandrian ship is placed under the protection of Castor and Pollux, the Divine patrons of sailors on sea (see Piper's Mythologie und Symbolik der Christl. Kunst. i. 2, 415, 416). How could it have occurred to St Luke to mention this sign of heathenish belief, were it not to intimate that, on that vessel, there did not reign any confident security, but confidence in superhuman protection and assistance; for it is only in the event of the sign's having an internal truth, that St Luke would make any mention of it. The shipwrecked people having saved nothing but their bare lives, the great reverence which, in consequence of his miracles, they pay to St Paul, becomes of great importance for the continuation of the voyage, inasmuch as the inhabitants were happy to provide the saved ones with what was necessary for this purpose (see ver. 10).

With the third vessel the voyage quickly reaches its destined termination. After a stay of three days at Syracuse, after touching, in passing, at the first Italian town, Rhegium, they proceed

with a favourable wind to Puteoli, the principal harbour for Egyptian vessels (see Wetstein ad h. l.). At the end of this long and toilsome voyage, the Apostle and his companions found brethren in Christ; and, at their request, they are permitted to tarry with them seven days (see v. 14). This was, of course, very willingly done by St Paul and his companions; but the circumstance that nothing special is mentioned regarding this meeting with the Christian brethren at Puteoli proves to us, that this occurrence did not produce any change in the whole disposition of St Paul's mind. It thus appears that Christian communion, as such, could not mitigate the unspeakable grief in which, according to our former considerations, we must conceive that the Apostle was sunk during the voyage; that Christian communion, on Italian ground, could as little attain this end as, formerly, that in Sidon (see xxvii. 3). This is important to us; inasmuch as, on just this ground, it will immediately appear of what incomparable importance was the existence of believers at Rome; for, from Puteoli our narrative now earnestly looks to the final aim of the journey, viz., the city of Rome. For the farther continuation is thus narrated:—*καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἤλθομεν* (see ver. 14), and every thing which now follows reminds us of Rome. How very strongly is the Roman origin indicated by the names *Ἀππίου φόρου* and *Τρεῖς Ταβέρναι* (ver. 15), and by the form in which they are communicated by our account, which studies to represent things in as objective a manner as possible! We are, besides, directed by these localities to the celebrated Via Appia, the celebrated high road leading to Rome (see Winer s.v.). These stations on the land-road from Puteoli to Rome are here mentioned, because, at both of these points, Christian brethren from Rome, who had heard of the Apostle's arrival, met here with the Apostle and his companions, and that in such a way, that some had come to the Tres Tabernae, and others, still farther, to the Forum Appii. We have every reason to be surprised at the rapidity with which the intelligence of St Paul's arrival in Puteoli had reached Rome, and with which the believers in Rome had set out and arrived at the Appii Forum, which was forty-three millia distant from Rome. In this speed, we must recognize the wings of love which are able to accelerate, far beyond the usual measure, both intelligence and travelling.

With this extraordinary love of the Italian, and, especially, of the Roman Christians, corresponds the extraordinary joy which visits the deeply afflicted Apostle at the sight of the believers from Rome. For we read that when Paul saw them, he thanked God, and took courage (ver. 15).

But what is it that exercises upon St Paul an influence which, to such a degree, quickens his heart, and changes his disposition? Since we have seen that it is not the mere sight of believers as such, it must be the circumstance that these believers have come from Rome, and that he sees in them the representatives of the Roman Church. Astonishment has been expressed at the circumstance that there is not, in our Book, a word on the Roman Church (see Zeller, Theol. Jahrb. 1850, 370). A more thoughtless remark than this can scarcely be imagined. We do not, it is true, find any statistical statement about the extent of the Church at Rome, but no one has a right to expect such a thing here. But if it be asked whether our account contains any thing regarding the existence and great importance of the Church at Rome, we answer, that all the praises which, in St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, we find bestowed upon this Church, and that all which, from other sources, we know regarding its high position, do not reach to the importance and significance which, by our narrative, are actually ascribed to this Church. Notwithstanding all the glorious and wonderful experiences which St Paul has made among the Gentiles in his travels by sea and by land, his mouth has remained closed as regards the proclamation of the Gospel, and the praise of the holy name of Christ Jesus. Now, since we know that the proclamation of the word of the Gospel forms the real element in which St Paul lives (see 1 Cor. ix. 16, 17), this silence for so long a time, and where there were so many calls for speaking, is to us a clear indication that there exists something which binds and restrains this the Apostle's innermost element of life. Considering the individuality of St Paul and the existing circumstances, this, as we already found, can be nothing else than his unutterable grief at the final hardening of Israel, and at the Divine rejection of Jerusalem, of which a testimony is borne to him by every step which brings him nearer to Rome. What is it, then, which has broken the spell of this grief? For his proclamation of the Gospel before both

Jews and Gentiles in the Roman metropolis (see xxviii. 16—31) shows us that a complete change has, in this matter, taken place with him. Nor has St Luke omitted plainly to state at what time, and on what occasion this change arose. It was just when, in the Via Appia, he saw the believers from Rome that he thanked God, and took courage. Now, even supposing that we could not at all discover what it was that gave to this sight such an extraordinary influence over the mind and heart of the Apostle, it would, at all events, be settled that the real presence, and, hence, the existence of the Roman congregation, had such a quickening power over the Apostle. For if Thiersch (see Kirche im Apostol. Zietalter, S. 177) means to find the ground of his cheerful courage in the circumstance that he saw the fulfilment of the promise which Jesus had given to him in xxiii. 11, he has indeed paid very little attention to the context and connexion of our passage. For, even during the voyage, it was not doubtful to St Paul that he would come to Rome and appear before the Emperor (see xxvii. 24); and if in this matter he had required any strengthening and confirmation, he would have obtained it when he entered upon the Italian soil. But the sight of the Roman brethren has, at all events, no connexion with this matter; and yet Luke evidently lays the whole stress upon this sight. Now, since we know that neither at Sidon nor Puteoli was St Paul freed from his grief over Israel by his intercourse with the believing brethren, it must be the matchless importance of just the Roman congregation which could produce so great a change in the Apostle of the Gentiles.

This incomparable importance of the congregation at Rome which here meets us becomes, indeed, still clearer and more intelligible to us when we seek to answer the question:—What, then, was it which, in the existence of a congregation at Rome, contained such an elevating power for the downcast Apostle? In answering this question, two points, chiefly, are of importance,—namely, whether the Church at Rome was founded by Jews or Gentiles; and, then, in what manner it was founded. The first point would not arise at all, were it not that Baur lately advanced the opinion that the Roman congregation consisted chiefly of Jewish Christians; and that this opinion has been adopted, not by Schneckenburger only (see Zweck der Apostelgeschichte, S. 122),

but also by Thiersch. Now, we have already proved that that section of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, on which Baur founds his opinion, suggests to us, not the Jewish-Christian, but rather the Gentile-Christian character of the congregation at Rome; and that, therefore, those arguments by which that opinion of Baur regarding the elements of the Roman Church is supported, are based on rather a tottering foundation. But, on the other hand, we may also appeal to the circumstance that the universal tendency which, it is generally admitted, the Apostle follows in the Epistle to the Romans, could not be imagined and conceived of in any other way than that the character of the congregation at Rome should correspond to the character of the city itself; and that, hence, it arose from heathenism, as the natural representative of which, Rome, the metropolis of the world, must be considered. With such a view of the Church at Rome, it is then, of course, settled that the brethren who, partly in the Appii Forum, partly in the Tres Tabernae, met the Apostle Paul, belonged to the Roman people,—to the real and original citizens of Rome. When St Paul formerly uttered at Ephesus the words: "I must also see Rome" (see xix. 21), he had in view the necessity which lay upon him, the Apostle of the Gentiles, to proclaim the name of his Lord in the city also where the kingdom of the world had its centre. In this, of course, it was not to him the main point that the proclamation must be made by him, but that the evangelical proclamation should produce fruit in Rome also; for he considers himself as nothing (see 2 Cor. xii. 11); all that he is concerned for is that fruit be produced (see Phil. i. 18, 21—24). But now there exists such living fruit of the preaching of the Gospel in the Roman metropolis, and it meets him personally in these brethren. Hence, the feeling of necessity which once came over the Apostle at Ephesus must now be changed into that of the deepest and most heartfelt gratification, by the sight of the Christian brethren from Rome. In that utterance of St Paul we clearly see that he is fully aware of the importance of Rome as the metropolis of the world; and it is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the perception of the faith, and of the congregation in Rome, is able to afford a counterpoise to his late experience of the unbelief and apostacy in Jerusalem, the city of God. It is just by this perception that it becomes to him

sure beyond any doubt, that after the people of Israel, with their holy city, had been rejected and given over to the judgment of God, the kingdom of God had made a firm beginning in the opposite point of the world, at Rome, the centre of the kingdom of the world. And this was to him a proof, not only that the kingdom of God would maintain its existence in the world, even after it had fallen to destruction at that place which, in the providence of God, had been, from the very beginning, prepared for it, but also that it had already gained an existence in another place which comprehended and commanded the world to an extent as great as Jerusalem had done. The circumstance that the banner of the kingdom of God presented itself to the eyes of St Paul as being erected high on the hills of Rome, just when he was oppressed with grief and mourning at its being lowered on the hill of Zion, was altogether fitted to raise his heart, afflicted for Israel, the people of God, and for Jerusalem, the city of God, out of the depths of silence, to that joy in which he felt impelled again to carry and to utter the world-conquering word of the Gospel.

One peculiar feature of the Roman congregation is, that its character corresponds with the position which the city of Rome occupies in the world; and this feature becomes still more striking, when we consider the manner in which the congregation took its rise. It is, indeed, only inferentially that we can attain to a knowledge of this manner; but we may arrive at a tolerably certain result, if only we take a right view of the circumstances and relations which bear upon this question. Tradition mentions St Peter as the founder of the Church of Rome; and, even in most recent times, Protestant divines have been found to defend this opinion. In addition to Mynster (see Tholuck's Comment. on the Epistle to the Romans, p. 7), Thiersch also has very recently declared in favour of this opinion (see Kirche im apost. Zeitalter, S. 96, 97). On this disputed point the latter scholar has thus expressed himself: "We do not take any cognizance of the more recent statements of tradition, concerning the stay of the Apostle Peter in Rome; we simply refer to, and maintain the oldest accounts. Traditions which have been added in the course of time do not entitle us, at once, to consider as a fiction the centre also around which they have gathered. Only, then,

would it be advisable to reject all the testimonies of antiquity, even the oldest and simplest, when they contradict the New Testament" (see l. c. S. 97). We quite agree with the principle last advanced; but we maintain that the New Testament not only contradicts this Roman tradition, but that the error of this tradition can be proved to have its foundation in a very early corruption of the Apostolic truth. Thiersch imagines that he has done all that was requisite, by pointing to the blank found in Acts xii. 17, and thinks himself entitled to assume, with Tradition, that that other place into which St Peter went, was Rome. But from the very beginning (see i. 8), the Acts of the Apostles thus designate the path which the Apostles are to take: "Through Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all Samaria, unto the uttermost part of the earth;" and at the close of the Book, it is just Rome which is declared to be the uttermost part of the earth. If, then, our Book intended to report a transition of St Peter from Jerusalem to Rome, and hence, an overtaking of the whole path marked out, how were it possible that it should have designated such a progress of the whole development in terms so undefined and general as these: *καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἕτερον τόπον*? On the contrary, we must hold by the view which we have already expressed above:—that this short intimation of our Book can contain the negative fact only, viz., that St Peter withdrew from Jerusalem. We must maintain this so much the more decidedly, that it has already come out, with sufficient clearness, that the progress of the Gospel from Jerusalem to Rome does not at all take place in a straight line, but in such a way that a new starting point intervenes. This insight into the course of the development during the first period of the Church is, in the Acts of the Apostles, so clearly and distinctly manifested by the circumstance, that after the crisis in question, the ministry of all the twelve Apostles is covered with a deep silence, while the whole development seems to depend upon the person and ministry of St Paul alone. It was not long, however, that the Gentile Church remained submissively and entirely faithful to the voice of her great Apostle. It is a well known fact, that the Pauline doctrine regarding man's justification before God appears, in its original purity, in scarcely a single passage of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. It is, farther, a well known fact, that this doctrine

became more and more darkened in the farther course of the development of the Church. This corruption of the views of the Christian individual is answered by the confusion in the views of the whole Christian community,—a confusion which began as early, and increased more and more rapidly. Instead of allowing themselves to be ever anew directed, by the person and history of the Apostle of the Gentiles, to the Spirit as the foundation of the Gentile Church, there was an increasingly stronger attempt to claim and vindicate the present position of the Church, by laying the main stress on the outward continuity of the existence of the Church. From this there sprung up the tendency to shape, by their own hands, the ministry of the twelve Apostles, and to place it, everywhere, in the fore-ground. This tendency must, of course, manifest itself most fully in the case of St Peter; for it is with a perfect right that the ancient Church assigns to him the Apostolic primacy. Since, then, she was so anxious to maintain and to prove the outward connexion of the present Church with the first beginnings of the Church, it was St Peter who, in those points of the development where the Acts of the Apostles lead into the depth of the Spirit, must serve her for building a bridge for the want of faith and of the Spirit. From such a point of view, it is by no means difficult to understand the origin of the tradition which ascribes to St Peter the founding of the Roman Church. For, the Roman Church is the bold edifice which is reared on the height of heathendom; while the Church of the Israelitish people on Mount Zion becomes a prey to destruction. But if thus the Apostolic dignity of St Peter be the visible thread of continuity between the present existence and form of the Church, and her first beginnings—for this was necessary and requisite for that view of the Church which we have pointed out;—then St Peter must, necessarily, be as much regarded as the founder of the Roman Church, as it is undeniable that he stood at the head of the Church of Jerusalem. But the more that, in such a view, we are met by a corruption of the Apostolic consciousness, and by a resistance to the influence and guidance of the Lord, the more earnestly must we guard ourselves against allowing the truth of Divine history, and the purity of Apostolic doctrine which are displayed before us in our Sacred Book, to be darkened by human traditions and opinions. Since then, as regards the foundation

of the Church at Rome, the Acts of the Apostles lead us away from the side of St Peter to that of St Paul, we must decidedly reject that Roman tradition concerning the origin of this Church from St Peter. Against this opinion there has been adduced, with perfect right, the circumstance also that St Paul had made it a principle never to interfere, in a foreign territory, with his Apostolic ministry (see Rom. xv. 19, 20). If, then, the Church of Rome had been founded by St Peter, how could it have happened that St Paul, as he himself bears witness (see Rom. i. 9—12), should have had his eye so steadily fixed upon her?

Shall we now confess our adherence to the most opposite view, viz., that the Church at Rome was founded by the Pauline party, not, indeed, by the Apostle himself, but by his disciples,—a view which was formerly advanced by Eichhorn, and which has lately again been defended by Philippi (see Comment. on Rom. S. xii., xiii.), and Delitzsch (see Rudelbach and Guerike's Zeitschrift, 1879, S. 601)? The sole foundation for this view is, that among those designated in Rom. xvi. as teachers and labourers in the Gospel, and as living in Rome, there are friends and acquaintances of the Apostle. This reason, however, cannot here be decisive, because of none of these is it either expressly said, or even in any way intimated, that he stands in so important and significant a relation to this Church. And this argumentum a silentio derives its unassailable power in this place from the circumstance, that things, of no importance comparatively, are mentioned in connexion with the persons named in the passage in question. Philippi argues from probability by saying: "It is most likely that the Church of Rome, the metropolis of the world, should owe its existence at least to the indirect ministry of the Apostle of the Gentiles, to whom the foundation of the first Christian Church in Europe had been committed as the special sphere of his peculiar work." But this argument, too, proves untenable, when we try it by the standard and rule of the Acts of the Apostles. For, according to this standard and rule, the first Gentile Christian congregation at Antioch is the clearest and most expressive analogon to the Roman Church. For, we found above that Antioch must be regarded as the Eastern Rome, and that it is just on account of this rank of the city that the Church there occupies so significant and prominent a position in the

course of the development of the primitive Church. But just as Rome is the continuation and completion of Antioch, so also the Roman Church is destined to occupy, for the future, and for the completion of the Gentile Church, the same prominent and commanding position which the Church at Antioch maintained for the first beginnings. And where does this commanding position of the Roman Church appear more prominently than just here, where it is seen that the mere sight of a few members of the Roman Church is all that is needed in order at once to raise the Apostle from the depth of long continued grief and silence, to a joyful courage, and a loud testimony? If, then, this parallel between the congregation of Antioch and that of Rome be sure, we may, on the ground of the Acts of the Apostles, be permitted to draw an inference from the peculiar manner in which the former arose, to the manner of the origin of the latter. For, having found that the origin of the Church of Antioch, which our Book has not failed expressly to record, has happened in a manner altogether appropriate to her peculiar position, we may suppose that, unless something to the contrary be recorded, the origin of the corresponding Church at Rome took place in the same manner; and that, hence, the peculiar position of this Church also has thereby been marked out from the very beginning. A Book which, as we have now so often found, views and represents all the particulars with so distinct and commanding a regard to the whole and to the connexion, may expect from the reader that its silence concerning the second beginning of the Gentile Church,—so important when viewed in connexion with the history of the world —that its silence concerning the origin of the Church of Rome will be understood and explained from what it has reported concerning the first beginning at Antioch which, when viewed in connexion with the history of the world, is so similar. And we may with so much the greater security rely upon the soundness of this inference, that the silence in this case is, in itself, fitted to lead to the same result. For, if the history of the development of the primitive Church has nothing to say about the origin of a congregation so important as the Roman, and yet brings this congregation before us in all the importance which it has in the history of the world, the most probable supposition is that this fact has been accomplished in a concealed and quiet way by the work of

the Spirit, and by the influence of the Lord whom the commencement of our narrative has transferred to the invisible depths of heaven.

If, then, we assume that the Roman congregation, whose representatives St Paul met on his way to Rome, was founded neither by an Apostle, nor by an Apostle's disciple, but by men without name and office, just as had once been the case with the first Gentile Christian congregation, we shall so much the better be able to understand the powerful impression which this sight made upon the Apostle. For it is this fact only, that, in the metropolis of the Roman kingdom of the world, a Church of Christ has been formed, in a hidden manner, by the work of the Spirit,—a congregation consisting chiefly of Gentiles;—it is this fact alone which can counterbalance the other fact which unceasingly burdens the heart of the Apostle,—the fact, namely, that, in Jerusalem, the city of God, by the power of the devil and the wickedness of man, that organ of God's kingdom has been destroyed which He had, thousands of years ago, prepared. For, if there be in the Roman metropolis a number of men who do not recognize, in the visible Emperor, the bearer of the highest power and authority among men and nations, but in the invisible Lord who occupies heaven, and who, as the Crucified One, departed from the world,—then indeed the firmest stronghold of Satan among all nations and tongues has been taken. And if such has been accomplished without its being possible to point out any instrumentality of the holy people, or the Divine office,—if it has been accomplished by the power of the Holy Spirit who, in an original way, creates and forms His instruments:—then it has been made manifest to the whole world that the hardening of Israel, and the putting of the primitive Apostles into the back ground, is so far from destroying and doing away with the kingdom of God, that, on the contrary, the creative power and influence of the Holy Spirit are only the more gloriously exhibited thereby;—that, accordingly, the kingdom of God cannot, in any incurable way, be injured by any hostile power, because it possesses within itself the power and ability to retire, when any of its holy organs are wounded in a deadly manner, into the unapproachable territory of the Spirit, and there anew to gain a hold and assistance. It is a crisis similar to that which took place in the history of the Lord. For our Lord

Jesus was obliged to enter upon the same struggle with the wickedness of the Jews; and here, too, the end was none other than that He was obliged to give over to them, for destruction, His holy body, the temple of God. But it is just by this yielding of our Lord that His highest and unconquerable power is manifested. For by means of the Spirit, through whose instrumentality His incarnation had been accomplished, He obtains after His death a new existence, and one which is free from all limits and barriers, and has power over all things in heaven, as well as on earth. And of this the natural consequence is, that, ever since, He not only endows His people with powers of illumination and sanctification, with gifts of renovation and glorification, but places them on the ground of a new and eternal personality. With the beginning of this spiritual existence, the history of Jesus is closed; and it is quite right that, at this point, the Gospel, too, should make a stop. For, from this point onward, it is a matter of course that the history of Jesus will be fully accomplished, and that everything must come to pass in the manner which He has willed and declared it from the beginning. According to this analogy, we shall, for our history also, expect to have the sign of the end in the event here brought under our consideration. The rise of the Gentile Church at Rome, by means of the immediate effect of the Holy Spirit, is the resurrection of the Church at Jerusalem, which consisted of Jews, and was directed by the holy Apostolic office. The Roman Church is the spiritual form of the first-fruits-Church of Jerusalem, which was bound to the temple and its service, and rested on the office of the twelve patriarchial Apostles. The Roman Church having arisen by the power of the Spirit alone, in opposition to the highest powers of the world, bears within itself the guarantee, that, henceforth, no power of the world shall be able to overcome the Church of Christ. The existence of this Church is, in itself, the impregnable confirmation of the promise of the Lord, that even the gates of Hades shall not prevail against His Church (see Matt. xvi. 18).

But if the matter stand thus, could not our narrative have attained its object in a far more direct way, by simply reporting to us the manner in which the Roman Church originated, just as it has reported the corresponding origin of the Church at Antioch, and have, thereby, superseded the whole minute account

of St Paul's coming to Rome? In that case, however, an important and indispensable feature would have been altogether passed over. It is, no doubt, of great importance distinctly to distinguish the two different forms of existence in the history of our Lord, as well as in that of His Church, viz., the existence in the flesh, and the existence in the Spirit. But then only will it be right to recognize and adore the power and victory of the Spirit in the spiritual existence, when this existence is nothing but a deepening and a realization of the fleshly existence, and hence, when the identity of nature is maintained and held fast. Besides the contrast, therefore, there comes as fully into consideration the connexion; and the continuity of the existence must be recognized, in the Spirit and in faith, in the same degree as it withdraws from the perception of the senses. It is for this reason that the Gospel is careful not only to report the existence of the Risen One, but also minutely to represent and bring before our eyes the fact that the changed and glorified Lord was recognized in the circle of his disciples. Now does not such a recognition, —such a verification of the identity between the fleshly and spiritual existence of the Churches,—find a place within the Acts of the Apostles also? We saw that it is on this necessity that there rests the connexion of the Church at Jerusalem with that of Antioch,—a connexion which was formed through the instrumentality of Barnabas (see xi. 22, 23). In the same degree as the Roman Church excels that of Antioch, is St Paul also higher than Barnabas. We know that St Paul was called immediately by the Lord himself; that he was proved and confirmed by signs and miracles, by word and work, as none of the other Apostles were. We know, farther, that he was called by the Lord to be a holy instrument for the building up of the spiritual form of His Church among all the Gentiles; and that, for this very reason, he was not called during the fleshly existence of Christ, but by the Lord himself from the height of heaven, and in the brightness of the heavenly light. This much then is proved and established:—that St Paul stands in immediate connexion with the Lord himself. But another circumstance still is, thereby, brought out and impressed upon us. The distant and strange relation in which, on account of this different calling, we at first find St Paul towards the Church at

Jerusalem, has been fully removed by his last stay at Jerusalem; for, during that last stay in the holy city, he has, in the house of St James, and in the presence of this leader, and of all the elders of the Church at Jerusalem, furnished a completely satisfactory proof of his being the Apostolic messenger of God to the Gentiles (see xxi. 19, 20). If, then, this St Paul, whose calling proceeded from the Lord who is the Spirit, and who was proved and confirmed in presence of the Church in her fleshly existence, sees the Roman Church, and acknowledges in her the impress of the Holy Spirit, we must consider this as a fully valid testimony that, notwithstanding the entirely altered exterior, we cannot but recognize, in the Roman Church, the identity and continuity of that Church of Christ which was founded in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost. And, indeed, it is this judgment of the Apostle Paul on the Roman Church which, in the passage under consideration (xxviii. 15), is communicated in a form which harmonizes with the context. As Barnabas rejoiced at the sight of the Church at Antioch, and had only to exhort the faithful to continue in the path on which they had entered (see xi. 23); so it is with St Paul at the sight of the brethren from Rome.

It is now clear also that, by the breaking of this remarkable and mysterious silence which St Paul has observed during the whole voyage, a feature is, at the same time, pointed out which must be considered as the culminating point of the development of the Church up to this period. For it is only apparently a matter purely personal, that here the commencement of St Paul's courage and confidence is reported. It is with this single feature, just as it is with all which our Book records of St Paul's person and history. For the ultimate object which our Book has in view in the entire history of St Paul, is always the development of the whole Church. The strengthening and raising of the Apostle of the Gentiles from his deep affliction and depression coincide with the moment, when it is publicly confirmed that the Gentile Church has reached its culminating point, and acquired an abiding and indestructible foundation in the world. It is by this, at the same time, that the prophetic element in the whole narrative of St Paul's voyage is put in its proper place. For, if the Church of Christ be really founded in Rome, then she has been esta-

blished in the midst of the world; and, hence, the whole existence of the present kingdom of the world, which is unavoidably sinking and falling, is inseparably joined with the Church of Christ. The preservation of the Divine element has thereby been secured to the world, although its way should lead through destruction. The closing point of the section under consideration has thus placed us on a height, from which we may joyfully and confidently look down upon the length and breadth of the world. And, by recognizing this height, it becomes, at the same time, manifest to us, that nothing of all that preceded was superfluous, but that every thing was intended and necessary, in order to form the steps of the ladder leading to this height. Only one question might still arise, viz., Why is it that our narrative does not allow the thread to be entirely broken at this point, but proceeds to give a continuation, and, hence, another close? This question, however, will be more appropriately reserved for the closer consideration of this very continuation, and of this other close, to which we are now to proceed.

§ 36. THE PREACHING OF ST PAUL IN ROME—THE END.

(Chap. xxviii. 15—31.)

In now entering upon the concluding section of our Book, the question already touched upon at the close of the preceding section at once forces itself upon us:—Why did not our account close, after having mentioned the Roman Church, which stands as the culminating point of the Church's first period? For the more that we have insisted upon recognizing in Rome the opposite pole of the world, corresponding to Jerusalem, the more it would seem that, by St Paul's acknowledgment of the existence, in this place, of a Church of Christ, that point is reached which, by our Book itself (see i. 8), has been marked out as the utmost limit of its horizon. Our Book has now, indeed, brought before us the progress of the Church from Jerusalem, through all Judea and Samaria, to the uttermost part of the earth; and seems, indeed, to have, thereby, fulfilled its task. We find, therefore, at the close of our book, the opposite difficulty to that by which critics

and expositors commonly find themselves annoyed at this place; for while, ordinarily, astonishment is expressed at the suddenness with which our account breaks off the history of St Paul, and allows the curtain to drop before a decision has been pronounced in his cause which has now been pending for years, our wonder rather is, that the account still goes on, after having found the sought-for closing point, and makes a new beginning in the section before us. But I hope that, in attempting to answer the question which, in the first place, forces itself upon us, we shall, at the same time, find the most direct and secure road for setting aside the other difficulty.

It is, indeed, quite true that the declaration of our Lord at the beginning of our Book (see i. 8) marks out the way in which the Gospel is to pervade the world; and as soon as we understand this relation in a purely local sense, the existence of the Church in Rome, after the proclamation of the Gospel in Jerusalem and in Samaria has been reported, may be considered as the final object. We have, from the very outset, thought ourselves under the necessity of supposing that the progress through the stages indicated by that Word should take place only when the preceding stage has come to its final close; and that, therefore, the Gospel should not proceed from Jerusalem to Samaria, until Jerusalem had been entirely transformed and renewed by the Gospel. That supposition, it is true, now appears as something strange; inasmuch as men have become quite habituated to understand, in a purely local sense, those stages of transition. But it is easy to see that, for such an assumption, there is no ground beyond the appeal to the later course of events, in which, indeed, the first mentioned localities—Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria—appear as mere places of transition. But how common soever it may be to understand and estimate, according to the immediate result and course of events, words of Scripture which refer to the Future, it is a proceeding as erroneous as it is pernicious. For every word, even the prophetic word, must absolutely be understood from the historical circumstances in which it appears, and with which it is connected; and this law must the more strictly be maintained and acted upon in the exegesis of Holy Scripture, the more earnestly that Holy Scripture every where holds up history as the foundation and aim of

its whole contents. We must, therefore, understand and explain that declaration of our Lord from the context alone. One might, indeed, refer to the fact that Christ himself, even before His suffering, pronounced upon Israel the judgment, that the kingdom of God should be taken from the Jews, and given to the Gentiles (see Matt. xxi. 43). But, in the declaration in question, we have to do with a beginning which is altogether new. The Lord has risen from the grave, and sends out His messengers into the whole world to proclaim salvation. If, under such circumstances, He again connects this with, and makes it proceed from Jerusalem, He does so because all sin and iniquity are atoned for, and hence Jerusalem and Israel also stand cleansed from most heinous blood-guiltiness. But, if such be the case, we must understand the progress of the kingdom of God, as marked out by Christ, in such a way as it appears on the ground on which the Lord stands together with His disciples, *i.e.*, on the ground of the Old Testament history and Scripture. But here it is beyond all doubt that the transition of salvation to the Gentiles appears always as dependent upon the preceding completion of Israel; so that the Gentiles who turn to Jehovah are always represented as joining Israel, the people who first and completely return to their God. But, if this view of that passage be the correct one, as hitherto we have always supposed it to be, and found it confirmed in our Book, then it follows also that the coming of the Gospel to Rome, in the way indicated by the historical development of our Book, cannot by any means be simply already regarded as the final aim marked out by our Lord; but, on the contrary, that from the point of view which we indicated, there appears a wide chasm. For, according to the statements of our narrative, the progress of the Gospel from Jerusalem to Rome has been not after this manner:—that salvation is offered to the Gentiles after it has been accomplished and completed in Israel, but rather after it has been rejected by the Jews. And after this character of the progress has been brought out and made conspicuous in many single accounts, we have received, in the connected narrative of St Paul's treatment in Jerusalem, and his journey to Rome, which was thereby occasioned, the most expressive and powerful representation of this relation of Jews and Gentiles to the Gospel. Whilst thus

our Lord marks out the uttermost parts of the earth as the aim, in so far as all the intervals, and, above all, the centre are supposed to be filled and pervaded by the Gospel, Rome now appears as the uttermost part of the earth, at a time when just the place whence the proclamation of the Gospel proceeded, and, above all, the holy city have wickedly rejected the last mercy of God, and have been irrevocably given up to the sentence and judgment of God. But is Jerusalem, by this last resistance, rejected for ever, and Israel blotted out for ever from the kingdom of God, so that, in as far as this is concerned, no chasm could any more be spoken of? This, indeed, has become, even up to the present day, a very current notion in the Gentile Church. If this opinion were founded solely on the conviction of the immeasurable heinousness of Israel's guilt and sin against the grace of God, it must, beyond any doubt, be found in our Book also. For we have seen that our narrative is just intended to bring out and hold up the wickedness and hardening of Israel in all their horrible nakedness and reality; and we must, generally, maintain of the whole of Scripture, that it judges the sin of Israel in all its stages, and even in the stage of its completion, with such an awful severity that the Church is altogether unable to go beyond it. But, nevertheless, neither the other Books of Scripture, nor the Acts of the Apostles, have ever given room to the thought that, by the sin of Israel, even when completed, the grace of God towards this people is overcome and annihilated. On the contrary, in harmony with the other Books of Scripture, the Acts of the Apostles have, as we have seen, already repeatedly indicated that the grace of God can overcome even this resistance of man's sin, although it be the most wicked that is in the world.

We have seen that, by the calling of St Paul to be the Apostle of the Gentiles, a new order of salvation was established for the extension of the kingdom of God over the whole world. St Paul is commissioned to proclaim the name of Jesus, first, to the Gentiles and their kings, and, then, to the sons of Israel (see ix. 15). And we have indeed found that the whole conduct of the Apostle during his last stay at Jerusalem, yea his having undertaken at all his last journey to Jerusalem, was determined and pervaded by the hope that the last would be first, that Israel would be converted to their God, and be saved as soon as the fulness of the

Gentiles would have come in. But it has been seen that this hope of the Apostle was not only frustrated, but turned into the very opposite. And, indeed, never yet had the wickedness of Israel been manifested in such depth and breadth as just at that time when St Paul, along with the brethren and gifts from among the Gentiles, exhibited and declared, in a visible manner, before the whole people of Israel, the presence of the kingdom of God in all lands and islands. The immeasurable importance of this decision has, by our account, been brought before us in the subsequent events of the present history of the Apostle. But if our Book maintains the final salvation of Israel as firmly and distinctly as the other Books of Holy Scripture, then so much the more is it incumbent upon it to disclose to us what ground of hope Israel still has, after so awful a turn of events as is manifested by St Paul's journey from Jerusalem to Rome. In this we have now found the reason why St Luke cannot close the course of the development of the Church after having brought before us the Roman Church; and the point has, at the same time, been shown, on which we were entitled to expect farther disclosures. It will now be necessary to inquire whether the continuation of the narrative before us corresponds to these thoughts suggested a priori.

After the remarks at the close of the preceding section, it will not appear at all strange to us that the Roman Church is ignored altogether in the continuation of the account which reports the Apostle's arrival at Rome, and his first experiences there. For, inasmuch as the whole importance which, in the context of our history, the Roman Church is at all entitled to claim has been fully brought out by the previous mention of the meeting of the Roman brethren with St Paul at the Appii Forum and the Tres Tabernæ, we shall find it to be quite natural that no farther mention is made of that Church, even by a single syllable. But when, on the other hand, the account, in the first place, attends to the outward condition in which we have to conceive of the Apostle during his first stay at Rome, we shall find this to be quite natural, inasmuch as it depends upon this outward condition, whether St Paul can come to the exercise of his Apostolic ministry at Rome, or not. Upon this point we are told that the imprisonment could not be remitted,—and this was a matter of course as long as the cause itself remained undecided,—but that it was so lenient

that the Apostle could, notwithstanding, continue at Rome his Apostolic ministry, for which, as we saw in xxviii. 15, he had again acquired joyful confidence in the Via Appia. For this purpose, St Luke intentionally directs our notice to the fact that the other prisoners were given over to the Praefectus praetorii (στρατοπεδάρχῃ, ver. 16). For, if St Paul had been placed on an equal footing with them, his stay at Rome must have become a continuation of his bondage in Cesarea, where he was kept a prisoner in the Praetorium (see xxiii. 35), under the superintendence of Roman soldiers. But now, evidently in consequence of the good report which, at the instigation of king Agrippa, Festus had given of him, he is separated from the other prisoners, and left to himself under the superintendence of a Roman warrior (ver. 16). St Luke thus here also remains faithful to that view which, from the outset, he had advanced concerning the imprisonment of St Paul by the Roman military power, viz., that it served the Apostle more for a protection, and for the promotion of his objects, than for an obstacle and injury; and Zeller is quite correct in his remark that, according to the representation of the Acts of the Apostles, the Roman imprisonment is not so much a misfortune, as it is the carrying out of the Apostle's own resolution (see Theol. Jahrb. 1850, 366). Although, in Cesarea, he was kept in prison, it could not be an obstacle to him, inasmuch as the task of the public proclamation of the Gospel in the Jewish land had already been discharged by him. But the matter stood differently in Rome, where his stay could be of any importance and advantage in the course of the development of the primitive Church, only in the event of his being allowed there to comply with, and carry out his Apostolic vocation. It was just for this reason that, the moment he entered upon the territory of the city of Rome, the strictness of the military imprisonment was in so far relaxed, as to allow him sufficient liberty to discharge what his Apostolic office in the metropolis of the world required of him; and St Luke does not omit here to make mention of it.

We are, of course, most anxious to hear in what manner the Apostle is to open his ministry in this place; and, quite in keeping with his wonted carefulness and attention, St Luke satisfies our expectation, by reporting at once what St Paul undertook after three days, which were, of course, easily taken up with

making the necessary arrangements for his new position. If left to our own thoughts, we would, no doubt, suppose that St Paul, as soon as he obtained in Rome the liberty of moving about, would first have entered into a closer relation with the Roman Church, to which he was attached with such love and veneration, in order to make stronger and more enduring the passing contact which he had had with them on the road. But we learn from St Luke that the Apostle was of quite a different mind. They are not the heads of the Roman Gentile Church whom he calls together, but the heads of the Roman Jewish congregation (ver. 17). Negative criticism is, of course, greatly offended by this haste and intentionality with which St Paul addresses the Roman Jews, and has neither overlooked nor passed over this feature of a decided leaning towards the Synagogue on the part of the Apostle of the Gentiles, in order to establish their charge against the non-historical character of the Book (see Zeller, l. c. 1849, 571 ff.; Baur, der Apostel Paulus, S. 368 ff.). If there were here no other point in question than what criticism in general finds fault with, namely, the priority which, in the proclamation of the Gospel, St Paul, according to several statements in the Acts of the Apostles, practically concedes to the Jews, we might content ourselves with referring to our former discussions upon this subject. But the case, after all, stands somewhat differently. For we have seen how the hardening of Israel was completed, during the Apostle's stay in Jerusalem, and then, by his last effort which, in most wonderful love, turned towards the lost people of Israel, we have seen that the whole journey of the Apostle from Cesarea to Rome supposes this consummation of the hardening—this filling up of the measure of Israel's sin, and the breaking in of judgment upon Jerusalem; and that it is only from such a supposition that the disposition and conduct of the Apostle during the voyage can be accounted for. From this fact, and from the corresponding view of it, both with our Apostle and with our reporter, it seems to follow necessarily, that although, even according to St Paul's doctrine, the Jews have a priority in the proclamation of the Gospel, yet that this privilege has been forfeited after a decision as it happened in Jerusalem—a decision so comprehensive, and so momentous in its influence upon the history of the world.

But are we, perhaps, to suppose that the connexion with the

Jews which St Paul here seeks and opens up, did not originate at all in his Apostolic calling, but in interest for his own personal safety? It is this aspect of the question which Meyer endeavours to establish, in order to explain the strange circumstance in question. He says: "Paul could not but wish, not to be implicated at Rome in the machinations of the Jews, as formerly he had been in Judea." But this expedient for the explanation, being altogether inappropriate, cannot here come into consideration at all. For, in the first place, we already know St Paul too well to suppose that a mere regard to his personal safety should have exercised a decisive, and an altogether changing influence upon his whole manner of acting; and, secondly, we know also with respect to St Luke that nowhere is he intent upon writing the personal history of St Paul; and finally—and this point alone would fully settle the matter—in the whole account which St Luke gives of St Paul's stay at Rome during two years, we do not perceive the slightest trace of a regard to his personal welfare; on the contrary, the judicial affair of St Paul is put so entirely into the back-ground, that we do not hear a single syllable either about its progress or its final issue. With such a tendency of the account, how should it have occurred to St Luke to report minutely that St Paul made another attempt upon the Jews in order to bring about a more favorable decision in his cause,—an attempt which is not only altogether improbable in itself, but which could not fail to be fruitless? We are, therefore, again led to consider this connexion with, and approach to the Jews, on the part of the Apostle of the Gentiles, in the light of his office,—a view which is suggested at first sight, and, especially, by the circumstance that the farther progress of this contact has quite the same character as that which we have already repeatedly found in the proceedings of the Apostle of the Gentiles with his brethren according to the flesh. But then it may be asked:—Has there, since the introduction of that momentous crisis in Jerusalem, anything happened which might explain this new effort for the conversion of the Jews made by St Paul? Now, all which is required in order to realize this new decisive feature, is once more to take a review of what we have already perceived in the account before us, and to place it in a new light. We saw that the circumstance of the Apostle's

finding the Gentile Roman Church produced upon him an impression which had the effect of changing his disposition of mind; and this can be accounted for, only on the supposition that, in the Roman Church, he recognized the culminating point of the whole Gentile Church. By this, the entering of the fulness of the Gentiles into the kingdom of God was, anew, and on an enlarged scale, brought before the Apostle. For, in the same degree as seeing with one's own eyes what is immediately near and present, is superior to hearing at a distance,—in the same degree the sight and St Paul's conviction of the preliminary full measure of the conversion of the Gentiles must be strengthened, after he has seen with his own eyes the Church at Rome, of whose good report he was, even formerly, quite filled at Corinth, and to whom he was inspired to write his most comprehensive and thorough-going epistle. Now, we know that, to the Apostle, it was the first and highest concern to make a new and comprehensive attempt with Israel, after he knew that, in a certain sense, and to a certain extent, the fulness of the Gentiles had come into the kingdom of God, in order that thus he might see whether the period had arrived which Jehovah had marked out from the very beginning,—the time, namely, when He would convert His people from their deepest and darkest confusion, by those who are not his people (see Deut. xxxii. 21). Since, then, the conversion of the Gentiles was, on the Via Appia, anew and on an enlarged scale, brought before St Paul, why should he not even now have proceeded according to the same law, and, standing as he did on this new experience as a new foundation, address himself again to his brethren after the flesh? He himself declared this to be the ultimate aim of his whole Apostolic mission to the Gentiles, that he might convert the Gentiles, in order that, by means of the converted Gentiles, he might bring back Israel to their God (see Rom. xi. 13, 14). Was there anything to prevent him from carrying out, at the present moment, this his view of his Apostolic office? Should he allow himself, by the experience, which he had made at Jerusalem, of the unfathomable depth of the wickedness of the Jews, to abandon them for ever, as far, at least, as his own ministry was concerned, and follow the easy path of a ministry among the Gentiles? If we had to do in this case with any one inferior to St Paul, we should surely not be for a moment

astonished, if now we perceived a slight wavering before so steep a height of his calling. But we now see that he, who once penned the incomparable hymn in praise of that love which endureth all things, and hopeth all things, has not only praised that love, but also exhibited it in his life, by ever anew, and even after the saddest experience in body and soul, meeting again, with patience and hope, the most deadly enmity of his own brethren.

Our understanding and estimate of the significance and importance of the account under consideration concerning St Paul's last meeting with the Jews will be greatly assisted when we bring to remembrance a period of the later time of the Gentile Church,—a period which bears the closest resemblance to the one before us, but in which it is seen how very much the greatest teacher of the Church remains behind the Apostle; and, at the same time, how, in order to remain conscious of her Divine aim, the Gentile Church stands always in need of this inspired representation of the first and normal period of the Church. The period in the history of the Gentile Church to which I have alluded, is that which, in every respect, reminds us most vividly of St Paul's person and history, namely, the time of the Reformation, which has its centre in the person and history of Luther. It was Luther who received the vocation to place again on the candlestick the light of the Pauline doctrine, on which the salvation of the Gentiles rests, but which, ever since the Apostolic period, had more and more been placed under the bushel. Inasmuch, then, as St Paul is the Apostle and teacher of the Gentiles, we have no hesitation in holding up, as the greatest teacher within the Gentile Churches, this man, who, by, and in the power of God, was the restorer and renovator of the Pauline preaching, and in whom the history of the Apostle of the Gentiles is, in its fundamental features, repeated. But it is just for this reason that the comparison of the conduct observed by Luther towards the Jews, with that which, on this point, is known to us concerning St Paul, will be so much the more remarkable and instructive, with a view to the right understanding of the account now under consideration.

Luther, being firmly and deliberately convinced that, by his testimony, the darkened centre of the evangelical proclamation among the Gentiles has again been illuminated, counts, from

his appearance, a new period in the course of the general development of the Church. Having this conviction of the thorough going and transforming significance of his ministry, Luther is easily induced to hope that, for the Jews too, a time of conversion had set in. Hence we shall find it to be quite natural that, according to the account of Matthesius (see Predigten über Luthers Leben, S. 305, new edition), Luther took a great interest in the Jews; and we are able exactly to follow and to point out the thoughts entertained by Luther on this subject. In 1523 he wrote a Treatise under the remarkable title, "That Jesus Christ was, by birth, a Jew." This title gives us at once to understand that faith in Christ is here so conceived of, that the national aspect of our Saviour's person and history is to be regarded as something essential and abiding; and, hence, an opinion here meets us which, within the sphere of the Gentile Church, must be regarded as an exception, and as a thing remarkable. In this peculiarity of the doctrine respecting Christ, it is then farther implied that even the essential and abiding significance and importance of Israel is, at least, dimly seen. It is for this reason that, in the Treatise mentioned, Luther does not omit explicitly to express the abiding contrast between Israel and the Gentiles, by a recollection of Israel's holy past history. He says: "How much soever we may boast, yet we are Gentiles, and the Jews are of the blood of Christ; we are strangers and brothers in law only; they are related to our Lord by blood, His cousins and brethren. If, then, it were lawful for any one to boast of flesh and blood, the Jews stand in a closer relation to Jesus than we,—as St Paul also says in Rom. ix. And surely God has given proof of this by deeds, for on no people among the Gentiles has He conferred such high honor as upon the Jews; for there is no patriarch, no apostle, no prophet from among the Gentiles mentioned; and, moreover, there are even few true Christians from among the Gentiles. And although the Gospel has been made manifest to all the world, yet on no people, except the Jews, has He enjoined the Holy Scriptures, *i. e.* Moses and the Prophets, as Paul says, Rom. iii. 2, and Ps. cxlvii. 19, 20" (see Walch xx. 2232, 2233). He expressly declares that, just for this reason, he is favorable to the Jews, because he views Jesus in His national peculiarity. "For I," so he writes in the

Treatise mentioned, "should like to do good, even the very best, to you Jews, for the sake of the Jew crucified, whom no one is to wrest from me" (see l. c. 2271). He declared to a Jew: "I love all the Jews for the sake of one pious Jew who has been born by a chaste virgin of your nation" (see Matthesius l. c. S. 306). It was, thus, love to Jesus, whom his faith recognized and held fast as an Israelite, which directed his look to the Past. And though Luther, at a later period, when he had acquired sad experience of the Jews, felt himself compelled to pass a very severe judgment upon their character and conduct at that time, he is always filled with the deepest reverence for the importance of the Jewish law and nation to the whole world, and expresses this more than once in a very striking manner. In opposition to the opinion of the Jews, that it was on account of the sin of His people that God did not send the Messiah, Luther, from a right understanding of sacred history and Holy Scripture, maintains that God would not allow himself to be impeded, by the sins of man, in His work of grace. It is in an exposition like this that, among other things, he writes, "Let them, therefore, mention the sins on account of which they suffer such awful misery. If they point out one or some, I most kindly beg that you would, at once and without delay, communicate it; and then I, an old fool and merciful Christian, will at once order a stone-knife and become a Jew, even although I was obliged to get not only my foreskin, but also my nose and ears circumcised" (see l. c. S. 2276). In this joke, a deep earnestness is evidently implied. Luther means to say that, if the outward form of Judaism, which has its expression in the hope of a visible Messianic kingdom, is at present still founded on truth, every Gentile is bound, by the most sacred obligations, to submit to all the laws and ordinances of Judaism. It is evident that, by this confession, Luther did not mean to give up the position which he holds with respect to justification,—for that was to him an impossibility;—but he is so deeply impressed with the Divine origin of the Jewish ordinances, and with the worldly origin of the heathen ordinances and arbitrary laws, that, as soon as a valid proof could be afforded that these Divine ordinances were valid even after Christ had appeared, a Gentile, standing in the grace of God, would have nothing more urgent to do than to submit to these ordinances for the

life of the nations on earth, inasmuch as they alone were Divinely appointed. This same fundamental thought is found, not only with St James, but with St Paul also, who, however, treats it more thoroughly, and more in accordance with, and upon grounds of, Scripture. From another passage of the same Treatise, directed against Sabbatizers, we clearly see that, in the passage just quoted, Luther does not speak of circumcision as a single isolated obligation, to the exclusion of all the others, but that, just like St Paul (see Gal. v. 2, 3), he understands circumcision as the obligation to keep the whole law. That passage runs as follows: "For this reason, you shall tell the Jews that they should just begin with observing the law of Moses, and should really become Jews; for they are no longer Jews, since they do not keep their law. If they have done so, then we also will become Jews at once. Although this has been neglected and not done for 1500 years, let them, even now, go to the Holy Land, and to Jerusalem, build their temple, set up the priesthood, royal dignity, and Moses with his law, and thus become themselves again Jews, and possess the land. When that has been done, they shall see us coming after them on their heels, and become Jews also" (see l. c. S. 2290).

With such eyes of love for Christ's sake, Luther, however, viewed, at first, not only the holy history of Israel in the Past, but also their sad and miserable condition in the Present. The latter deeply moves his heart, so that he writes: "It is true, I am no Jew; but I am in earnest in saying that I do not like to think of such awful anger of God against the people; for I am seized with a terror which shakes body and soul" (see l. c. S. 2315). And even in his writings of a later period, in which, as we shall immediately see, he speaks of the Jews with undue severity, he cannot omit to remember them in intercessory prayer (see l. c. S. 2508, 2523, 2528),—a circumstance so much the more worthy of notice that he thereby comes into contradiction with his own thoughts about the present obduracy of the Jews. It is from this deeply founded love for Israel also, that we may account for the fact that at first Luther knows how to bring forward many excuses for their persevering unbelief; and inasmuch as, in these excuses, his position towards the people of God is still more clearly manifested, we must give a statement of them. Thus he

writes in 1523: "Our fools, the popes, bishops, sophists, and monks —those rude blockheads—have hitherto so dealt with the Jews, that he who had been a good Christian might, indeed, have become a Jew. And if I had been a Jew, and had seen such blockheads and boobies ruling, and teaching the Christian faith, I should rather have become a pig than a Christian. For they have treated the Jews, as if they had been dogs, and not men. All which they knew to do for them has been to abuse them, and take their goods. And if they have baptized them, neither Christian instruction nor Christian life has been set before them, but they were brought under the yoke of popery and monkery. If the Jews thus saw that their own religion has Scripture so strongly in its favour, while the Christian religion was nothing but talk, and without support from Scripture, how should they have eased their hearts and become good Christians? I myself have heard it of pious baptized Jews, that unless they had heard the Gospel in our time, they would all their life time have remained Jews under a Christian cloak. For they confess that they have never yet heard of Christ from their baptizers and teachers." And farther: "If the Apostles, who also were Jews, had treated us Gentiles, as we Gentiles have treated the Jews, no one from among the Gentiles would ever have become a Christian. Since, then, they have treated us Gentiles in so brotherly a manner, we again should treat the Jews as brethren, that thus we may convert some."

From his thus accusing Gentile Christendom, and excusing the Jewish Synagogue, it is easily explained that Luther could entertain hopes for the conversion of the Jews. For he knew that, by the grace of God, the time had come when the Gentile Church was renewing and building herself up on the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, with an earnestness never before equalled. Could it be otherwise, then, than that this bright shining of the light of Divine grace in the Gentile Church should have a winning power for the Jews also, who had, to such an extent and so frequently, been repelled by the carnal form of the Gentile Church? This hope is several times expressed by Luther: "I hope," so he writes in 1523, "that, if the Jews were kindly treated, and carefully instructed out of Holy Scripture, many of them would become Christians, and

turn again to the faith of their fathers, the prophets and patriarchs; from which they are only farther frightened away, when we reject their religion, and refuse to acknowledge its existence, and when we treat them only with pride and contempt" (see l. c. S. 2232). To a converted Jew, he expresses himself thus: "Since, however, the invaluable light of the Gospel is now rising, and reflects a radiant brightness, there is hope that many among the Jews will be converted in sincerity and honesty, and will allow themselves to be drawn to the Lord Jesus Christ with their whole heart; just as you and a few others, who are still the remnant of the seed of Abraham, to whom salvation is to come through grace.—And I wish that your baptism and regeneration should be known, as an example, by other Jews also, that so they who are predestinated may be called, and may come to David their King, that he may feed and save them; but whom our priests and Pharisees, who are destined to judgment, reject with indescribable fury and madness" (see l. c. S. 2268). The ground of this hope is indeed too obvious to admit of our doubting that we shall find it elsewhere also at this time; and so indeed it is. Justus Jonas, who translated Luther's Treatise: "That Jesus Christ was by birth a Jew," into Latin, that it might be more generally circulated among the Jews, writes in 1524: "The Jews, as we have seen, have fared like ourselves. By the twaddle of their Talmud they have been carried away from the pure word of God, and the simplicity of Scripture; just as we ourselves have been by the dreams of Scotus and Thomas. But I do not doubt that they, to whom it is given to adhere to the pure writings of Moses and the prophets, will be not a little convinced and affected by the argument of Luther's Treatise. Let us pray for this people, and that so much the more that, among ourselves, not all are Christians who bear this name. Would to God that the labour among the Jews would prosper as greatly as the change has been miraculous, and the works of the Lord have been glorious, which we have, in so short a time, experienced by the quick course of His Word" (see Walch l. c. S. 2266).

From these declarations we perceive quite clearly the resemblance to the position of the Apostle of the Gentiles towards the Jews. Just as he expected the final decisive turn for good in

Israel from the influence of the Gentile Church, so, on the same foundation, as we have seen, the hope is rested which Luther and his contemporaries entertained for Israel. But the less that this argumentation had a clear knowledge of the Pauline view,—the less that this hope which, at the time of the Reformation, was entertained for Israel, was based upon Scriptural ground,—the more certain we may be, that it originated in the same spirit of hope and love which animated the Apostle, and had opened his eyes to the discernment of what Scripture says regarding it. We shall, therefore, find it to be quite conceivable and natural that this hope for Israel induced the great teacher of the Gentiles, the renovator of the proclamation of St Paul, to extend his evangelical ministry to strayed Israel also. The Treatise already frequently adverted to was expressly destined for Israel; inasmuch as, considering the favorable disposition towards Israel which we have already mentioned, and the prejudices existing among the Jews, it endeavoured to prove that Jesus was the Christ. Nor was this labour of Luther in behalf the Jews in vain; for he writes in 1537: "My Treatise has done much good to all the Jews" (see Walch. l. c. S. 2269). But the more we are struck by the resemblance which all this bears to the history of Paul, the more anxious we are, of course, to see whether the farther progress and issue, at the time of the renovation of the Church, are the same which we found them to be in the Apostolic time. It will at once become evident to us that the time of obduracy was, to Israel, not yet past in the days of Luther. Since Luther has consented to enter into a real and living relation to the Jews, he can, from his own experience, judge of the Jews; and all which he expresses regarding them has proceeded from a real contact of his spirit with theirs. For although, from Scripture, he might say a great deal regarding the condition of Jewish unbelief, he yet, in forming his judgment of them, always refers to his own experience. Since, however, this experience agrees exactly with the statements of Scripture, we see, in this also, the same evangelical and Pauline spirit of truth. In 1543, Luther wrote his Tract, "On the Jews and their lies,"—in which he endeavoured to refute Jewish errors which made a great impression upon Christendom at that time. When compared with his former Treatise in 1523, his

position here altogether changed. Here he declares, from the very outset, that he does not speak to, or against Jews, in order to make an impression upon them. "It is not my intention"—so he says at the commencement of the Treatise in question (see l. c. S. 2313)—"to quarrel with the Jews, or learn from them how they interpret and understand Scripture; all that I know very well already. Far less it is my intention to convert the Jews,—for that is quite impossible. As yet it is nowhere of any use with the Jews; they have only become worse and worse." It is a remarkable phenomenon that Luther thought it so necessary, with such earnestness and circumstantiality, to refute, for the benefit of the Gentile Churches, the current errors of the Jews. We see from it, most evidently, how deeply and inwardly the existence and history of the Synagogue is bound up with the Gentile Church. We have here a repetition of that which, at the time of Apollos, was found in the Corinthian Church. The same necessity which induced Apollos, the teacher of the Gentile Church in Corinth, to contend with the Jews, has urged Luther also to contend against the Jews, from a regard to the Church committed to him. We learn, indeed, that among the Gentile Christians at the time of the Reformation, there were found such as, from a Jewish submission to the law of Moses, exchanged the liberty of the Christian Sabbath for the bondage of the Jewish Sabbath (see Walch l. c. S. 2272; Luther über die Genesis i. 1854; Matthesius, Luthers Leben S. 74). The conviction that, upon the whole and as a body, nothing was to be hoped for, regarding the Jews, was very soon fixed in Luther's mind; and, in his later writings, he gave repeated expression to it in the strongest manner. In the book of the *Shem Hamphoras*, which appeared in 1543, he says, upon this point, in the introduction: "My opinion is not against the Jews, as if I hoped to convert them. For this reason, I have, to that book (of the Jews and their lies), not given the title 'Against the Jews,' but 'Of the Jews and their lies;' so that we Germans might know, by the teaching of history, what a Jew is, and warn our Christians against them, as against devils themselves,—so that we might strengthen and honor our faith;—but not that we might convert the Jews, which is as little possible as to convert the devil" (see Walch. xx. 2528). "For a Jew," he says soon afterwards,

"or a Jewish heart is as hard as a stock, stone, iron, and the devil, and is not to be moved in any way. Although Moses were to come with all the prophets, and were to do all the miraculous works before their eyes that they might give up their hard hearts, —just as Christ and the Apostles have done in their presence,— it would still be in vain. Although they were so dreadfully punished that the streets were filled and running with blood, that their dead had to be counted not by hundreds of thousands, but by millions, as happened at Jerusalem under Vespasian, and at Cyprus under Adrian,—although in addition to these 1500 years, they should be other 1500 years in misery;—God must nevertheless be a liar, and they in the truth. In short, they are young devils, and condemned to hell" (see l. c. S. 2529).

One cannot well say that these strong expressions used by Luther regarding the unbelieving Jews go beyond the measure of truth. For we must always bear in mind that Luther does not write down such strong expressions from cool and sober reflection, but from a deep commotion of his heart, and from a living view of Judaism. The following sentence, which is likewise found in the *Shem Hamphoras*—the most violent writing of Luther's against the Jews—is, in this respect, very instructive: "O my God," so the words run, l. c. S. 2561, "my beloved Creator and Father, thou wilt graciously pardon me that—very much against my will—I must speak so shockingly of thy Divine Eternal Majesty, against thy cursed enemies, the devils and Jews. Thou knowest that I do so from the ardor of my faith, and in honor of thy Divine Majesty, for it pierces my heart and soul." Although with such emotions and dispositions Luther declares the impossibility of a conversion of the Jews, this need not imply any more than that which Scripture calls the obduracy, hardness, and blindness of the Jews, inflicted by the Divine will and decree; for he who would thereby understand a high degree of the want of susceptibility only, could have a very slight understanding both of the sense of Scripture, and of the spirit of the unbelieving Jews. If, then, with his knowledge and experience, Luther, as regards the Jews, meets with an obstacle against the Gospel,—an obstacle unequalled by any thing, which cannot be removed by any of the means given in the whole history of the Church, and which cannot be strongly enough expressed, nor con-

ceived of in a sufficiently awful light,—all this is truth, and in full harmony with Scripture. But, in all these utterances, it is, nevertheless, not necessarily implied that all hope is, in every sense, excluded. We remember an impossibility which is fully established, and which may be conceived of, and realized as such, and which must, nevertheless, be a possibility. "The things which are impossible with men are possible with God," says our Lord (see Luke xviii. 27). But although the heart of the great teacher of the Church is deeply moved, and inflamed with holy anger, he is by no means blind to this thought of Divine omnipotence and mercy, even when he has to deal with Jews, and although they be hard like devils." This is seen from the fact that, in that violent book, "Of the Jews and their lies," he, three times, prays for the Jews (see l. c. S. 2508, 2523, 2528); farther —that immediately after the very strongest expressions regarding the devilish wickedness of the Jews, in his pamphlet, "Of the *Shem Hamphoras*," he thus proceeds: "But if there still be any thing human in them, let them be benefited by such writing" (see l. c. S. 2529); and finally—that Luther, in his last declaration concerning the Jews, which he made shortly before his death, and in which he recommends very hard measures against them, says, among other things, the following also: "But still, we would exercise towards them Christian love, and pray for them, that they may be converted and receive the Lord whom it becomes them to honor" (see l. c. S. 2632).

This much is certain and evident—and with it the deviation from the Apostolic and Pauline rule begins—that Luther did not continue on this high ground of hoping against hope; that, after having looked into the whole depth of Jewish perverseness, this hope remained without practical effect and influence, and that, on this point, he allowed himself to be altogether guided by that powerful impression of Jewish perverseness. It is very remarkable that, in his later writings on the Jews, Luther zealously advises and orders to be done against the Jews just that which, formerly, he judged to have been in the way of their conversion to Christ. Let us, on the one hand, consider the following closing words of the Treatise: "That Jesus Christ was by birth a Jew," published in 1523: "For this reason, my prayer and advice would be, that we should deal with, and act towards

them with kindness, and instruct them in Scripture; that so, some of them might be converted. But now that we drive them by force only, and use false charges, by accusing them that they must have Christian blood in order that they may not stink,—and I don't know how much more of such nonsense,—and that we treat them like dogs;—what good can we expect from, or do among them? And so likewise, when we forbid them to work among us, to carry on trades, and to have any other human fellowship, and oblige them to carry on usury;—how should that correct them? If we wish to help them, we should not practise towards them the laws of the Pope, but those of Christian love, and should treat them kindly, allow them to work and labour with us, in order that they may have cause and opportunity to be with us and around us, and to hear and see our Christian doctrine. Although *some* be obstinate, what matters it? Surely, not all of us are good Christians" (see l. c. S. 2263). But after Luther had experienced the obstinacy of these *some*, and, no doubt, more strongly than he had expected, how suddenly did he change his opinion regarding the treatment of the Jews; yea, how did it change into the very opposite! In his pamphlet: "Of the Jews and their lies," he gives the following advice: "In the first place, their synagogues or schools should be set on fire, and that which will not burn, should be covered and overlaid with earth, that no man should ever see a stone or fragment of it (see l. c. S. 2478, comp. with S. 2500); *secondly*—that their houses too should be broken up and destroyed; for they do in them the same things which they do in their synagogues (see l. c. S. 2479); *thirdly*—that all their prayer books and talmudists should be taken from them, in which, and by whom such idolatry, lies, curses, and blasphemies are taught (see l. c.); *fourthly*—that their Rabbis should be forbidden, on pain of death, to teach in future (see l. c.); *fifthly*—that protection, and the right of using the roads should be altogether taken away from the Jews; for they are neither lords, nor judges, nor stewards, nor agents, nor tradesmen, and, hence, have nothing to do in the country, and should remain at home (see l. c. S. 2480); *sixthly*—that they should be forbidden to practise usury, already prohibited by Moses (see l. c.); and *seventhly*—that we should put into the hands of the young strong Jews and Jewesses flails, axes,

mattocks, spades, spinning wheels and rocks, and should make them earn their livelihood in the sweat of their noses—as such is imposed upon the children of Adam" (see l. c. S. 2483). One does not well see what else there remains after these hard and contradictory advices, except that everywhere, throughout Christendom, the Jews should be driven out of the country; and it is to this that, in several passages of his later writings about the Jews, Luther in reality comes and reverts. After those seven advices, however, and when the fear arises that, by such violence, the Jews might be roused to avenge themselves, he thus continues and closes: "Let us, therefore, abide by the common prudence of other nations—such as France, Spain, Bohemia, &c.—and reckon with them as to what they have gained from us by usury. Let us then divide with them in all fairness; but, after that, at all events drive them out of the country" (see l. c. S. 2783). And afterwards, in the same book, he thus expresses himself, and comprehends in it his whole advice: "In my opinion, all certainly tends to this: If we are to keep unpolluted from, and not to be partakers of, the blasphemies of the Jews, we must be separated from them, and they must be driven out of our country; let them remember their own country. Thus, they will no more be able to cry, and lie before God, that we keep them captive, nor we to complain that they trouble us with their blasphemies and usury. That is the most obvious, and the best advice which secures both the parties in a case like this" (see l. c. S. 2503). This, finally, is also the advice which Luther, shortly before his death, addressed to the princes and people of his native country (see l. c. S. 2631).

It must, indeed, be noted as a remarkable circumstance, that, a few days before his death, Luther, as a patriot, advised the Rulers and subjects of his country to such a violent treatment, and expulsion of the Jews. Nowhere has it, in my opinion, become so evident that although, by the whole Gentile Church, Luther cannot be deeply enough revered and highly enough exalted as the renovator of the Pauline proclamation, yet that, in this respect, Luther can never be placed side by side with the Apostle of the Gentiles, and that his doctrine must never be valued like that of the Apostle. But what, indeed, is it which our great Reformer, in his relation to the Jews, lacks, and for the

sake of which he advises to a line of conduct towards them which so strikingly contrasts with that of the Apostle? We have seen that, notwithstanding all his experience of Jewish perverseness and corruption, Luther did not close his soul against all the emotions of hope. He has himself, however, confessed to us that, for these emotions of hope, he does not know of any divinely confirmed foundation,—that he cannot find for them any ground in Scripture. For thus he writes in his Treatise *Of the Shem Hampkoras:* "In short, the Jews are young devils, condemned to hell; but if there be still among them any one with some human feeling, he may be benefited by this book. As to entertaining any hope, however, of the whole mass,—let him do so who likes; I have no hope, nor do I know of any support for such in Scripture. Surely, we cannot convert even our Christians—I mean the great mass—and must be satisfied with a small number; how much the less will it be possible to convert all these children of the devil! For it is altogether a delusive opinion which some men entertain, as if the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans teaches such folly as that the Jews are to be converted at the end of the world; St Paul means something altogether different" (see l. c. S. 2529). But even those who are most anxious to adhere to his words will, at present, all agree that Luther has been altogether mistaken in imagining that he could thus evade and reject the passage in Rom. xi. 25—29. But what is not in the least more doubtful, but is nevertheless not so readily acknowledged, is the circumstance, that the passage in the Epistle to the Romans, to which reference has been made, stands so little isolated, that, on the contrary, it is indissolubly connected with whole portions of both the Old and New Testaments. But, if such be the case, Luther endeavours to evade and reject not only those few passages of the Epistle to the Romans, but, at the same time, all those portions of Holy Scripture also which stand internally connected with the passage referred to. It is, moreover, a notion altogether untenable, to suppose that any proposition or doctrine of Scripture could stand altogether isolated. On the contrary, if we believe that in the origin of Holy Scripture, the Holy Spirit exercised an essentially determining influence, it is implied in this, that as surely as one spirit pervades all the parts of Holy Scripture, surely also must every part stand in

an organic connexion with all the rest, and fit into it in an organic manner. But how could it be that a doctrine which St Paul designated as a mysterious legacy for the Gentile Churches, and which concerned the last Future of the people of God, should stand as a detached fragment? We find, indeed, in the New Testament, two books—viz., the Epistle of St James, and the Revelation of St John—the whole fundamental supposition of which rests upon the same hope which St Paul felt himself bound to express towards the principal Gentile Church. We have already had occasion to remark that the Epistle of St James is addressed to the whole Jewish people in their present state of dispersion, and almost universal apostacy. But it will easily be seen that such a position towards the Jews could not be at all conceived of in an Apostolical man, unless he could oppose the hope of a future, general conversion, to their present unexampled hardness of heart. And in the Book of Revelation it is expressly fixed, in names and numbers, that, in the last days, the centre of the Church of Christ on earth will be collected out of the twelve tribes of Israel, and that, around them, there shall stand a multitude of believers, which no man can number, of all nations, and kindred, and people, and tongues (see Rev. vii. 4—9); and it is farther declared in the same Book that, in the days of the last struggle, the two great prophetic witnesses shall stand and fall in Jerusalem (see Rev. xi. 8). We thus see quite plainly that, by that legacy to the Roman Gentile congregation,—and hence, to the whole Gentile Church—St Paul enters into that sphere in which the Apostles of Israel have, more peculiarly, their position. By thus evading and rejecting that passage in the Epistle to the Romans, Luther comes, at the same time, into a position in which he is obliged to reject these two Books of the New Testament; and we now see that it is not by any means a matter of chance that Luther really declared his rejection of these two Books. But there are still other passages of the New Testament by which Luther is embarrassed, on account of his refusal to acknowledge Rom. xi. Thus, it is only by limiting it, in a most arbitrary manner, to the Ten Commandments, that he can explain the statement of our Lord in Matt. v. 17 (see Walch l. c. S. 2301), which declares the integrity and validity of the whole Old Testament

letter, and which evidently obtains its full right, only when it is referred to the final restoration of Israel.

But what are we to say of the Old Testament? That passage in Rom. xi. is the bridge which connects the system of St Paul's doctrines with the Old Testament; and the Epistle of St James, as well as the Revelation of St John, are Books which avowedly imply, and are based upon, the whole Old Testament history, and the whole Old Testament mode of viewing things. Even from this it will follow that, for understanding and sympathizing with the Old Testament contents, Luther must occupy a position which is not a little false. And so it is. There is, indeed, no doubt that Luther has discovered and pointed out the right key for understanding the whole Old Testament, viz., justification through faith in the *historical* Christ, *i.e.* the incarnate Son of God. Nor can it be sufficiently acknowledged that, by means of this faith, Luther has made a correct, and most important beginning in the right understanding of the Old Testament, and has destroyed many current errors in this territory (see the general introduction to the Theolog. Comment. S. xxxiii.—xxxvi.). But, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that Luther is still very far from carrying through the historical understanding of the Old Testament writings; and that limit, which we recognized in his refusal to acknowledge the Pauline hope of Israel's Future, appears here in far greater extent and power. Even in the manner in which Luther commonly argues against the Jews from the Old Testament prophecies, we cannot fail to recognize the current, arbitrary, spiritualizing view, and painfully feel the want of the historical exposition and understanding of the prophetical word which are implied in his principle. Luther's chief confusion in this respect consists in this:—that it does not even occur to him that the Old Testament prophecy, on the whole and in the main, as well as in all details and particulars, points to a condition in the kingdom of God which, in its completion, shall be represented in a corresponding outward form and reality here on earth,—that, hence, the Messianic hopes entertained by the Jews are only a caricature of the Old Testament prophecy, and which, accordingly, can never be converted into what is true by an enfeebling, spiritualizing exposition, but only by a sound and historical

realism. It is instructive to observe the form which this sometimes takes with Luther, in particular. Thus, the remarkable passages have not escaped him in which Moses declares Israel's final return, in an external and internal sense (Deut. iv. 31; Levit. xxvi. 44); but he declares in simple words, that now no more stress could be laid on this prophecy, since too much time had already elapsed since Israel was in captivity, and forsaken of God (see Walch l. c. S. 2576). Occupying such a position of wanton unbelief towards an express word of God—a position from which Luther elsewhere is as far removed as heaven is from earth—he has in other passages no difficulty in simply asserting that there no longer exists a promise to Israel of returning to the Holy Land (see l. c. S. 2362); that the present Jews have no more any connexion with those to whom Moses spake (see l. c. S. 2482); that their blood had now become "more watery and degenerate," and had no longer any share in the blood and generation of Abraham (see l. c. S. 2630). How very far he is mistaken in such assertions regarding the Old Testament Scripture, and into what a strong contradiction he thereby comes to the word of God, is easily seen from the circumstance that those prophets who speak in the strongest terms of Israel's wickedness and perversity, are at the same time those who prophesy their final conversion and restoration in terms the most distinct and glorious. Let us only remember the fact that Ezekiel views this final turn of the fate of Israel as happening at a period in which not the blood only of Israel has become "watery and degenerate," but when there exists no more any other object to which Israel bears a resemblance, but a large valley filled with dry, dead bones!

Shall we now say, then, that this deviation of Luther from the doctrines and conduct of the Apostle to the Gentiles had its last reason in a perverse position with reference to the Holy Scriptures? We cannot do so, even for this reason that, according to our opinion, Scripture is everywhere not the first, but the second element in the knowledge and maintenance of Divine truth. We can only say, therefore, that this deviation, in Luther's erroneous position towards a great portion of Holy Scripture, comes out evidently and for a warning to the Church of Christ; but we must seek for a deeper reason for this misunderstanding itself. We know, indeed, no teacher of the Church who, like Luther,

has, in a manner so original, powerful, and effectual, demonstrated and proved the sealing, Divine power of Holy Scripture; for who has ever been able and has ventured to place, on a written Ἐστί the weight of his soul and its salvation? But if Luther exhibits to us this affecting internal event, it is not difficult to see that, for this reason, he is able to make the whole world of his inner life to depend upon this Ἐστί, because, in his innermost spirit, he has the immovable conviction that it is implied in the manner and nature of that Christ in whom his soul believes, and whom his heart loves, to manifest and communicate himself in so human and earthly a manner as he now finds it sealed in the written, indestructible letter of the Spirit. If, then, we find the same great teacher of the Church barring himself against, and disbelieving several passages, yea, whole Books and groups of Books, we shall not be able to explain this defect from any imperfection and weakness of the inner life of faith, and of the spirit. We have seen that both the Past and Future of Israel were opened up to Luther by believing in Jesus Christ as a Jew by birth; and, indeed, this belief is, and remains everywhere, for the whole Church, the only door to the history of Israel in all its stages. But even on a former occasion it could not escape us that Luther had, in the first instance and above everything else, the vocation to hold up and vindicate the importance and authority of this individual aspect in the faith of Christ,—an aspect so long overlooked and darkened —and that he has not got beyond that task. For this reason, we understand also that the individuality of the person and history of Christ forms the real centre of Luther's believing and thinking, and that in this he possesses the sole and true centre of all true life; but, owing to human imperfection, he could easily lose sight of the other aspect which our Lord turns towards His nation, viz., the national aspect of His person and history. It is, of course, impossible, entirely and with full knowledge and conviction, to deny the national aspect of the person and history of Christ, without, at the same time, denying His historical reality. It is, therefore, quite impossible to conceive, within the limits of Christian faith and religion, of such a denial; and even the Christology of Schleiermacher, which touches upon even the farthest limits, has taken care to guard itself against this highest degree of unhistorical sense and repre-

sentation. But the question, of course, is not merely the denial of the national aspect of the Christology; on the contrary, the more that the faith in the historical Christ is comprehensive and deep, the more the national aspect of the person and history of Christ will, in the faith of man, have that position, and that connexion with the individual aspect which, in reality and actually, exists between the two aspects. Now we find that in his principles on the subject of the historical exposition and understanding of the Old Testament, as well as in his first thoughts respecting the treatment of the Jews, Luther was really in earnest regarding this national aspect of the Christology. But it appears that the hardness and obduracy of the Jews which Luther experienced became more and more too powerful, and prevented him from being consistent in his earnestness. His zeal and anger on account of the unbelief and wickedness of the Jews became stronger than his faith which had taken hold of the national aspect of Christ. We can, and must not call this by any other name than weakness and imperfection in Luther's position towards the real and *historical* Christ; and it is owing to this darkening of the eye of faith that so many and so powerful testimonies of Holy Scripture are hidden from him.

But it is just this human imperfection and weakness of the great Luther, as regards the doctrine of Holy Scripture on Israel's Future, by which, in the passage under consideration, the incomparable greatness of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and the Divine call of his historian, appear, in the passage before us, in the fullest splendour and brightness of truth. If Luther's strong faith wavers and recoils from the abyss of Jewish wickedness and obduracy, how much stronger must have been the faith of the Apostle of the Gentiles, who, even on his arrival at Rome, has still courage and confidence to begin his ministry by calling together the chief of the Roman Jews! Surely Luther did not take it easy with Jewish wickedness; and it certainly may be doubted whether any other teacher of the Church has so deeply felt and sympathized with this excess of Jewish sin as our Luther. But what are this grief and experience when compared with St Paul's sufferings among his brethren, and with his deep grief on account of the separation between his people and his Lord! And all this bitterness and grief have been concentrated,

and have reached their full measure, during his last stay at Jerusalem; and during the wide and long voyage, he had still to taste and digest this cup of suffering, the effects of which penetrated through bones and marrow. In his deep silence, in his not uttering the name of Jesus, this sorrow was manifested and overcome. How infinitely greater cause had St Paul to be done with the Jews, than had Luther? But nevertheless he, even now, is so far from giving them up, that, on the contrary, he makes a new commencement; takes a fresh start with them. For the Apostle's zeal and anger on account of the perverseness and obstinacy of the Jews are always of a spiritual nature, and do not, therefore, in any way disturb or darken his position to Jesus Christ. It is true that, on account of the enmity of the Jews, and of their being given up, he is silent as to the name of Jesus; but we have seen that this silence is connected with the most heartfelt love and sympathy for the whole lost Gentile world, which can have their foundation only in the living communion with the Lord and Saviour of the whole lost human race. Let the Jews, therefore, be as they choose; let them do as they ever did,—before the spiritual eye of the Apostle there stands Jesus the Christ, who comes of the fathers, who is King and Lord of Israel to all eternity, in ever undimmed brightness, in fully unimpaired reality. It is by this complete communion in which the Apostle stands with the living Christ, that his love to Israel is a flame of Jehovah which nothing can quench or drown (see Song of Sol. viii. 6, 7), which, therefore, flashes up so much the more brightly and gloriously, although, for a time, it may have been suppressed. It is only from such a deep foundation of eternal love to his people, that the Apostle's conduct, narrated in the passage before us, is to be accounted for.

The dominant position which, in the Gentile Church, is due to the Congregation at Rome, is once more supposed by our narrative. For, in the existence of the Roman Congregation, St Paul again perceives a preliminary close of the conversion of the Gentiles,—a close which is complete when compared with the whole preceding development,—and has thereby acquired a new experience of the coming in of the fulness of the Gentiles, and, hence, has also gained a new hope that hardened Israel might be softened through jealousy of those who were not a people.

From his pure and undiminished love to his brethren according to the flesh, this ground of hope for Israel, which the present moment presents, cannot escape the Apostle; and he is at once ready to seize upon that moment. And St Luke, rightly valuing the importance of this conduct,—an importance with which we also should be deeply impressed, when we bring to mind the later development of the Church,—has not failed to commit to writing the single important features in this, the Apostle's new contact with the Jews, and to embody them in this important section of his history.

St Paul addresses the Roman Jews by the words *ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί* (ver. 17), just as he had the Jewish people in Jerusalem (see xxii. 1) This address, therefore, shows that the fearful chasm which, in the meantime, had arisen, has now entirely disappeared in the mind of the Apostle, and that he again entertains, before the Jews in Rome, the same hope with which he once stood before the Jews in Jerusalem; although, meanwhile, the unbelief of the Jews has filled up its measure, and has called down the Divine judgment upon Jerusalem. But it is just when we thus conceive of St Paul again standing, full of hope, before the Jews, that we can easily explain why he again begins by justifying himself before them on account of his present position. For if he would gain any influence over them, he must first of all strive to remove that which, from the very outset, would stand in his way with every Jew. The whole appearance of the Apostle as a prisoner made the impression of a man who had committed some crime in the Jewish land. He had, moreover, just at Jerusalem, been accused of acting wickedly against the people of God and their holy law. And as long as such an accusation was not completely set aside, it could not fail to present an insurmountable obstacle to any spiritual influence upon the Jews. Hence we can easily and fully conceive that, even before the Roman Jews, St Paul was so anxious, first of all, to clear himself from the suspicion of an apostacy from Judaism. The Participial clause: *ἐγὼ οὐδὲν ἐναντίον ποιήσας τῷ λαῷ ἢ τοῖς ἔθεσι τοῖς πατρῴοις* (ver. 17) must be understood as an adversative clause, and be thus paraphrased: "Although I have committed nothing against the people or customs of our fathers." But the principal clause: *δέσμιος ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων παρεδόθην εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν Ῥωμαίων*

shows anew, how deeply the former prophecy of Agabus (see xxi. 11) had sunk into the mind of the Apostle. For the manner in which he communicates his seizure and imprisonment, point back more to this prophecy than to what really took place. We have already remarked that the prophecy of Agabus places in view the repetition of the end which Jesus had in Jerusalem. And it must have been just this parallelism, by which this view and representation of the event was impressed upon the Apostle's mind so deeply as to be indelible. For, in one respect, his suffering in Jerusalem appeared to him, with such a view, as a communion in the suffering of Christ,—a communion more highly valued by him than aught else (see Rom. viii. 17; 2 Cor. iv. 10; Gal. vi. 17; Col. i. 24). On the other hand, with this view, the great mercy of God which, in consequence of the prayers of the Gentile Churches, had delivered him from death and granted him a new life, remained ever present to his mind. But St Paul is not only anxious so far to clear himself before the Jews, as to maintain his innocence before his imprisonment and trial; he wishes also to keep off from himself the suspicion of having committed anything against his people during the time that his cause was under trial. For his appeal to Caesar might be viewed as an accusation against the Jewish people for having maltreated him. St Paul, therefore, expressly remarks that this appeal did not bear an offensive, but a defensive character (ver. 18, 19). The remark, therefore, of Meyer concerning this declaration of the Apostle is quite correct: "This notice completes the account of Luke in xxv. 9. We must, therefore, thus conceive of the matter:—After Paul's vindication in xxv. 8, Festus expresses his willingness to set him at liberty; but the Jews oppose that (xxviii. 19); and now Festus proposes that Paul should stand his trial at Jerusalem (xxv. 9); whereupon Paul appeals to Caesar (xxv. 11)."

After St Paul had thus removed the obstacle which stood in the way of his influence, and, thereby, the erroneous thoughts also concerning his imprisonment, he declares himself on the subject of the principal cause of his present bondage; and thus opens up the way for passing over from his own personal affairs to the proclamation of the Gospel in presence of the Jews. Concerning the grammatical and logical construction of ver. 20,

Meyer very correctly remarks: "ἕνεκεν γὰρ τῆς ἐλπίδος etc., contains the positive motive to παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, while διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν, which refers back to the preceding negative statement, contains the negative motive." Of great and decisive weight is here the very emphatic utterance of St Paul: ἕνεκεν τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν ἅλυσιν ταύτην περίκειμαι. Calvin, it is true, is of opinion that, in this place, St Paul spoke, much more than what St Luke here communicates, and that, among other things, he declared to the Jews his faith in Jesus. This opinion has its foundation in his overlooking and misunderstanding the thought expressed in the sentence under consideration, and contains an indirect charge against St Luke of having passed over what is the main point, and of having communicated what is subordinate. Indeed, in the few words of the passage, the whole position of the Apostle of the Gentiles is expressed according to that aspect which it bears when viewed from the side of the people of Israel, and which has never yet, with entire earnestness, been taken up by the Gentile Church. The reason why St Paul bears the chain has been, fully and in detail, brought before us in the whole course of events hitherto. It is the testimony of Jesus, the Saviour of the Jews, but of the Gentiles also; it is the proclamation of grace and liberty which are in Christ Jesus, and which are prepared, and offered to all men in all places. It is this which has caused, and which has drawn down upon him the implacable hatred of the Jews, and has delivered him up to captivity in Rome. This cause of his bondage which has already been clearly and distinctly laid before us, St Paul here calls ἡ ἐλπὶς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. One would be disposed to imagine that, under existing circumstances, he should have had good cause to designate it by any other word rather than by this. For the peculiar Pauline ministry had indeed its real cause in the preceding apostacy of the Jews; and its issue was quite in harmony with this cause, namely the bitter and deadly hostility on the part of the Jews against the Apostle of the Gentiles. Hence it is that the Gentile Church has always been anxious so to understand and designate the substance and the peculiar character of St Paul's proclamation, that nothing in it should be recognized as having a reference to Israel. But the course and example of the Apostle of the Gentiles are here quite the opposite; and it is

easily seen of what importance it is that St Paul's friend and historiographer has recorded St Paul's utterance just in that form, in which it is fitted, at length, to direct the attention of the Gentile Church to this her mistake.

By the hope of Israel, St Paul, of course, understands, in the first instance, the sum and substance of the Old Testament prophecies; for, since he acknowledges that this hope is well founded, by declaring it to be the cause of his own sufferings, it must rest on a Divine promise. Is then this designation a circumlocution only, it may be, for the history of Jesus, of His sufferings and resurrection which, by the Old Testament prophecy, have been brought into view (see xxvi. 23)? Even although such a view were, in itself, admissible, it would, under existing circumstances, nevertheless, be impossible. For, we must consider that St Paul is speaking to Jews, and that for the first time. But, since we know with what wisdom and love he can join himself closely to those who are at the moment listening to him, how well he understands how to enter into, and sympathize with all their peculiarities, and with their position at the time, we shall not be able to suppose that "the hope of Israel" —a notion which, among the Jews, is by no means strange, but, on the contrary, quite current, yea, expresses and designates, better than anything else, their whole inward condition and position—should have been used and understood by him in any sense which, to those present, could not but be altogether unintelligible and inaccessible. We know, moreover, from St Paul's proceedings with the Jews in Jerusalem, to which he has just referred, that he attaches the greatest weight to the hoping of the Jews, and that in it he sees the possibility of coming to an understanding with them (see xxiii. 6; xxiv. 15; xxvi. 6, 7). From this we can infer with certainty that St Paul refers this expression, "the hope of Israel," to the Old Testament prophecy, not only in its objective aspect, but also in its subjective aspect, viz., to the hope existing in the souls of the Jews then present. In doing so, it is, of course, self-evident that St Paul separates, from the hoping of the Jews, all that which has, erroneously and sinfully, been added to the Divine promise. The essential part of this reference to the hopes of the Jews present is always the acknowledgment that, in the history of the kingdom of God,

there is still something not yet fulfilled of that which is contained in the Old Testament prophecy; and that that which still remains to be fulfilled, coincides substantially with that which the Jews hope concerning the future. But then the question reverts:—How, on this supposition, can St Paul designate his peculiar position and the cause of his suffering by such an expression?—or, in other words, How can he combine the proclamation of Jesus the crucified, the Saviour and Redeemer of all sinners among Jews and Gentiles, with the hope of the Jews for the establishment of a visible kingdom, the restoration of the royal dignity and power of David, and the dominion of the people of Israel, in such a manner as that he can comprehend both under one term? This can be understood only by observing that, in the restoration of Israel, Paul recognizes the natural working out and completion of that which has been founded by the death and resurrection of Christ; so that everything which, in the kingdom of the Spirit, has been begun and wrought out, finds its final completion and realization in this form of the Future. The views of the Gentile Church and of the Synagogue on this point, are, at present, contrary to, and exclusive of one another. Whilst the Synagogue is longing for the working out and completion of the Kingdom of God, without caring for the sole and eternal foundation of all working out and completion, and without having in it a firm foundation, the Gentile Church holds fast this foundation in such a manner that she narrows, or even altogether deprives herself of the view of this necessary form, and final appearance of the hidden substance and ground. The position occupied by the Synagogue is, therefore, without a foundation, just as that of the Gentile Church is without aim and end. In this confession of St Paul, however, we have the right and equalizing medium,—the living truth which is able to bring into connexion these contrarieties, and to infuse life into them. Of St Paul we know most distinctly that he has his sole foundation and new life in the depth of the Spirit, in the person of the Saviour crucified and risen, but now removed into the invisible kingdom. But although this Apostle recognized it as his duty to neglect and overlook that other aspect of the outward completion and form of the kingdom of God, for himself, as well as for the Churches which he was called to guide; yet he never took up a

negative position towards this final development. Having, however, arrived at that point of his history, as well as of the development of the Gentile Church, which distinctly and with certainty pointed to that end, it was, for this reason, as easy for him, as it was by his vocation imposed upon him as a duty, to exhibit with all distinctness that aspect of its being worked out and externally completed, as the necessary complement of that internal, spiritual aspect, and as the Divinely ordained aim and end for which all the preceding development was brought to a close. Here, as well as in the discourse delivered by the Apostle for his defence at Jerusalem, we shall, therefore, find, not so much a regard to the Jews addressed, as something completely appropriate to his position, as an Apostle, under existing circumstances. The Gentile Church, however, has not contented herself with neglecting and losing sight of that final realization of the kingdom of God, in order the more and more deeply to enter into, and to receive within herself that spiritual foundation, but has even gone so far as to deny that form which Scripture has appointed for the hope of Israel. In so doing, however, she has gone beyond the measure and rule of her Apostle. But in this her exclusiveness and perversity, the Gentile Church has this great and essential advantage over the Synagogue, that she has the real beginning of life, and hence, notwithstanding all wandering, can always correct that in which she has gone wrong; while the Synagogue, being destitute of that spiritual foundation, stands without life, and hence has, at present, left to her only the possibility of receiving the life which comes to her from without. No doubt, the Gentile Church cannot escape punishment and suffering for having neglected and overlooked the aim and end ordained for her by God. But, in such a time and condition of her suffering, she will be prepared for, and made susceptible of understanding her great Apostle in his conduct towards Israel, and for being thereby translated into her normal position for attaining her own end and aim. Then she will be able, after the example of her great Apostle, to turn, in the spirit of hope and love, to the dead Synagogue, and to raise her from death to life, at the time which the Lord has fore-ordained.

The Apostle has, thus, expressed to the Roman Jews the whole position which he occupied, and has done so in that form

which was most acceptable to them, and which could most easily find its way to their hearts. This we perceive from their answer also. First, they declare to St Paul that, neither officially nor privately, neither by letter nor orally, had they received from Jerusalem any information regarding him which contained aught to his prejudice (ver. 21). This declaration is indeed surprising and singular. One might, it is true, easily adopt erroneous notions regarding the relation of the Roman Jews to the cause of St Paul, and thereby make this declaration more singular and surprising than it is already in itself. On this point, the following remark of Meyer is as apposite as it is well founded: "1. Before Paul's appeal, the Jews in Jerusalem had no motive for bringing charges against him just before the Roman Jews; because they could not expect that Paul, who was imprisoned in Judea, and whom they hoped to destroy there, would ever come in contact with their brethren in the far West. 2. After the appeal, it was scarcely possible for the Jews in Jerusalem to send information to Rome, before Paul's arrival in that city. For the transportation of Paul took place, at all events, soon after his appeal (see xxv. 13; xxvii. 1); and, when it did take place, it was already so late in the autumn, and so shortly before the close of the navigation (see xxvii. 9), that it is most improbable to suppose that another vessel had arrived in Italy earlier than Paul himself, whose vessel had, in spring, after the opening of the navigation, to make the short way from Malta to Puteoli only, and, in this short voyage, was favoured by the wind (see xxviii. 13)." By these reasons, the fact is indeed accounted for that no official information concerning St Paul had been sent from Jerusalem to Rome. With all that, however, it still remains a very surprising circumstance that, during the two years in which St Paul was imprisoned at Cesarea, no intelligence whatsoever should have reached Rome of the immense excitement which had arisen among the rulers and the whole people on account of the Apostle, ever since his first arrival in Jerusalem, and which, as we saw, continued for two years. But in all this we must be satisfied with the decision of Thiersch, that St Luke expressly communicates the circumstance as something remarkable (see die Kirche im apostol. Zeitalter, S. 178), remembering that, as even so critical and sceptical an historian as Niebuhr

remarks, what is improbable is not rarely that which is true. It may, indeed, assist us a little in accounting for this singular circumstance, if, with Olshausen, we bear in mind the persecution which, at the time of Claudius, had been inflicted upon the Jews at Rome (see xviii. 2), and of which the consequences may, for a long time, have exercised an injurious influence upon the intercourse of the East with the Jews resident at Rome. But the essential matter is, after all, the circumstance reported here, that St Paul in Rome has to do with a Jewish Congregation which, although established in the principal place in the world, has, in a surprising manner, not shared in the general excitement of the enmity of the Jews against St Paul, and which, therefore, is still free from the decided prejudices of the Jews against the Apostle which had arisen. For this reason, the position of the Jewish Congregation at Rome just corresponds to that position which the proceedings of the Apostle of the Gentiles with the Roman Jews occupy in the course of the whole development of the primitive Church. For, after having been compelled to leave the Jews in Jerusalem and Judea to their obduracy, it was only on the ground that, in the meantime, something decisive had happened, that St Paul could venture, so shortly afterwards, again to address the Roman Jews with the proclamation of the Gospel. But St Paul has, in the meantime, seen the Gentile Church at Rome; and whatever decisive weight may be wanting to this circumstance is supplemented and made up for by the isolated position of the Roman Jews.

That St Paul has not been altogether mistaken and disappointed in his new attempt in this place, is at once seen from the answer of the Jews, in which, in closing, they declare their desire to hear more of him; "for, as concerning this sect"—so they say—"we know that every where it is spoken against" (ver. 22). These words we must understand as meaning that, from the very outset, the Jews are fully aware that St Paul belongs to the congregation of the Christians; for, of course, they must have made enquiries when St Paul called them together. And, as regards the Christian congregation, they entertain an idea which can easily be conceived of with Jews of that time. Astonishment has been expressed at the circumstance that the Jews in Rome do not speak, more particularly and distinctly, of the

Roman Congregation; and criticism imagines that, in this circumstance, it has found a support, by no means slight, for its doubts. But must we not, in their utterance regarding the sect of the Christians, see a clear indication that, from their immediate neighbourhood, they have received information concerning the believers? What else can at all have directed their attention to faith in Jesus, but the circumstance that there existed believers in their immediate neighbourhood? If we add to this the consideration that the Roman Congregation consisted chiefly of Gentiles, I, for one, do not know what else, and what more particular, the Jews could have remarked of the Roman Congretion. Are we, perhaps, to wonder that, concerning the Christian faith, they have not, long ere now, come to a fixed and settled opinion; but still express an inclination to hear from St Paul what his thoughts are? In a certain way they have come to a fixed opinion; for their declaration as to the fact that this sect is every where spoken against,—which, in the mouth of the Jews, must certainly be understood of the general opposition of the Jewish congregations towards the faithful,—must, no doubt, be considered as an opinion that it ought to be rejected. The circumstance that they, nevertheless, do not shut themselves out from the farther instruction of St Paul, may be accounted for by the consideration that they have not as yet had any personal contact with the Christians; at least, not such as could have made upon them so powerful and winning an impression as that which had been made by their intercourse with the Apostle of the Gentiles. They could not resist the turn which the Apostle took in his address,—that the hope of Israel was the cause of his chains,—and they are the more desirous and anxious to hear more in detail the thoughts and intentions of St Paul, that they knew that the sect, to which St Paul belongs, everywhere meets with contradiction on the part of the Jews. They are anxious to know how it is possible that St Paul should occupy a high position in this sect rejected by all the Jews, and should yet, at the same time, be bound with chains on account of that which, to every Jew, is highest and dearest.

In order to make the Jews still more willing, and better disposed, St Paul leaves it to them to fix a day on which he might farther expound to them the thoughts of his heart (ver. 23); and

he brings it about that not only the chief men of the Jewish Congregation return, but also others with them (πλείονες, ver. 23) came to him into his lodgings. The manner in which St Luke describes St Paul's exposition before the Roman Jews assembled in his lodgings (ver. 23) is most characteristic. As regards its extent, it must have been very detailed, inasmuch as it lasted from morning till evening,—as St Luke expressly remarks. Farther—we are told that, as the foundation of the exposition, Moses and the Prophets were made use of. It is true that, in proclaiming the Gospel of Christ to Jews, such a proceeding is necessary, and a matter of course; but it is, notwithstanding, necessary expressly to mention this, that we may not conceive of this use of the Law and the Prophets in the unhistorical manner so common among us. Altogether, apart from everything else, even the emphatic manner in which the Apostle had, in the preceding meeting, referred to "the hope of Israel," stands opposed to such a notion. But that which is most remarkable is the two-fold division of the matter which St Paul expounded (ἐξετίθετο, ver. 23) to the Jews; for this exposition was, in one respect, a testifying of the kingdom of God (διαμαρτυρόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ), and in another, an instruction about Jesus, with a view to win his hearers, and obtain their assent (πείθων τε αὐτοὺς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ). This two-fold division of this exposition, which St Paul intentionally observed, and which St Luke deliberately pointed out, corresponds very thoroughly with the whole state of things. The Roman Jews, whose attention had been excited and fixed by the Apostle's weighty word regarding the hope of Israel, require, above all, a correct and scriptural testimony and exhibition of the kingdom of God. That which they, as Israelites, hope for, is nothing else than the realization of the kingdom of God. In the same measure in which they are involved in, and attend to outward things, they conceive of the kingdom of God, as being in opposition to the present world, in which the kingdom of God disappears, and the kingdom of the world possesses the power over the things of the earth; but in the same degree also the idea of the kingdom of God becomes external, and loses its internal foundation and essence. But since such is the prevailing tendency of the Jews, instruction regarding the kingdom of God is that which is, above every thing, necessary; and it is just this first

and chief want which the first discourses of our Lord also strove to satisfy. But the more important and critical the moment is, in which St Paul begins to deal with the Roman Jews, the more he is anxious to deal with them thoroughly; and it is from this anxiety that his intentionally entering upon the doctrine of the kingdom of God is to be accounted for. Out of the Law and the Prophets he shows to the Jews, that the indispensable supposition and conditions of the kingdom of God are the merciful purpose of God, and the faith and obedience of His people falling in with this merciful purpose; and that the reason why the kingdom of God has lost its appearance and form on earth is just this, that the faith and obedience of the people of Israel, which were to fall in with this merciful purpose of God, began to fail. It is true that the Law of Moses, as well as the books of the Prophets know, from the very beginning, of such a fate of the kingdom of God; but they have, nevertheless, placed in view, for the last time, not a restoration of this kingdom only, but even the perfected realization and completed form of it which have never yet existed. But St Paul cannot have had any great difficulty in showing that this last and final glory and completion could not be thought of, until that indispensable condition and principle should again exist among the people.

From this point, it must have been easy for the Apostle to make the transition to the doctrine of Jesus, and to win over their hearts to His person and history. The Apostle has, in all probability, proceeded from the account of Jesus' public ministry, sufferings, and glorification, and, afterwards, has shown that the person and history of Christ are the only and eternal foundation on which all realization and completion of the kingdom of God rest. Out of the Law, as well as out of the Prophets, St Paul must have proved that this person is the only one among all those who have existed, or may still exist, which completely corresponds with the gracious purpose of God,—the only one who is just (see xxii. 14; comp. vii. 52); so that in this person, for the first and only time, the indispensable and unchangeable condition and supposition of the kingdom of God within the human sphere have been completely and absolutely fulfilled. But, in closing, St Paul will not have omitted to prove, from the Old Testament writings, that in the person and history of Jesus

are found all those signs and marks which constitute the essence of the Israelitish office, and the realization of which can the less remain unnoticed, that the whole Old Testament history shows ever anew that it was for the general injury and perdition of the people that the official qualification was wanting. But, since the Just one is, at the same time, He who is able to take upon Him, and to bear the whole weight and burden of the Old Testament office, that point is at last reached which is able to effect, for the whole people, gratification and satisfaction. For, if the Just Jesus be not only individually perfected, but, at the same time, able for, and entrusted with the Israelitish office;—if Jesus be really the Christ, then the probability exists that the single individuals, by His official substitution, not only obtain pardon for the sins which they have hitherto committed, but, by His official mediation, are made capable also of obtaining, in future, righteousness and glory.

According to the intimations given to us, these must, in all probability, have been the outlines and principal features of St Paul's exposition of his doctrine to the Roman Jews. The result, as in most cases in which St Paul appeared before the Jews, was various; "Some," it is said, "believed the things which were spoken, and some believed not." The circumstance that among these Jews there are any at all found who allow themselves to be determined by St Paul's words, is a sure indication that the power of obduracy must not be conceived of as insuperable, even after what took place at Jerusalem. We see from it that St Paul had a right to consider his having seen the Gentile Church established at Rome as the ground of a new hope for Israel, and to bring it at once into application. But, on the other hand, it will naturally appear strange to us that St Paul, as soon as he perceived that all did not agree with him, but that there arose, on the contrary, a dissension among the Jews, reminded those present of the hard word which was committed to the prophet Isaiah at his calling (ver. 25—27). How is it that St Paul passes, so quickly, so severe a sentence upon the assembled Jews? For although St Paul does not expressly apply the words of Isaiah to those who are present, but only points out their family and national connexion with those whom Isaiah addresses, the opinion exactly coincides with that of the

Evangelist John, who, at the close of Jesus' ministry among the Jews, referred to the same utterance of the prophet Isaiah, in order to explain their unbelief (see John xii. 37—41). For, what else should be the meaning of the minute description of the Israelitish fathers, in this passage, on the part of St Paul, and its communication by St Luke, than that the descendants, that is the Jews present who are here immediately concerned, bear and exhibit, in a lively manner, the features of this picture? The close also of St Paul's address (ver. 28) is explained only on this supposition. For in the clause, *αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται*, not only is it implied that the Jews do not receive with attention and obedience the salvation sent to them; but we know also that St Paul in general considers Israel's hardening themselves against the Gospel to be necessary for the transition of the message of salvation to the Gentiles (see Rom. xi. 14—30). It might, however, seem as if the reference to this severe utterance of Isaiah would have been much more appropiate on other occasions, where the Jews exhibited and manifested their hostility in a far more decided manner than they did here at Rome, where a portion was turned to the faith, and those who were not, abstained from all attacks upon the Gospel, and him who proclaimed it. This severity, indeed, cannot be accounted for, unless we consider what St Paul was entitled to expect from the Roman Jews, occupying, as he did, that position of hope which the existence of the Roman Congregation had raised in him. For if the message of the Divine salvation has, as the Jews themselves confess, created a congregation among the Gentiles in the metropolis of the world, then the highest point of the Gentile world is occupied by the kingdom of God; and St Paul was entitled to suppose that the spell of their obduracy would be broken by the power of this Divine jealousy towards those who were not a people. But since only a few believe, and the others contradict, and manifest their unbelief in a decided manner, this is a sure sign that the obduracy has not yet been removed. For, since, in Israel, the relation to God is connected with all natural relations and conditions, we perceive in the history of Israel on the religious territory that which, in the case of other nations, we see appearing on the natural territory only, viz., the phenomenon, that in religious decisions also, there appears a perfect unanimity of the whole people.

Thus we read that all Israel believed Moses (see Exod. iv. 31; xiv. 31); that all Israel repented and humbled themselves before the Lord at Mizpah (see 1 Sam. vii. 5—6); that all Israel, from Hamath unto the river of Egypt, rejoiced before the Lord seven and seven days (see 1 Kings viii. 65). From these events and precedents which, as we remarked, have their foundation in the original peculiarity of Israel, it may be expected that the final crisis in the history of Israel, *i.e.* their complete conversion to God, will also be quite general and comprehensive of all the individuals. The Prophets who, ever since Moses, point to this great and closing decision, suppose this generality as a matter of course; and as regards St Paul, we know, moreover, beyond any doubt, that he, too, wishes us to conceive of this final and closing crisis as total, and in contrast to all the preceding partial ones; for in contrast to the ἐκλογή (see Rom. xi. 7),—to the τινές (see Rom. xi. 14),—to the ἀπὸ μέρους (see Rom. xi. 25), he says, as regards the final crisis: καὶ οὕτως πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται (see Rom. xi. 26). When measured by this standard, the result which St Paul sees, from his day's work with the Roman Jews, evidently shows that the last conversion of Israel, which is to be effected by their being roused to jealousy by those who were not a people, has here not yet taken place. But in that case it is also certain that the time of the general obduracy still continues. Although, however, one part of the assembled Jews harden themselves against the evangelical word of the Apostle, yet no new crisis thereby arises. But how is it, then, that St Paul finds cause for the application of the cutting and terrible word of Isaiah to the present circumstances; while it would appear that, on other occasions, where the hostility manifested itself directly and distinctly by deeds, he must have had far greater cause to be reminded of this word of the prophet? That, however, which is here of importance and significance, is contained in the peculiar circumstances of time and place; and it is this which has induced the Apostle to employ the word of the prophet. The proclamation of Jesus Christ before the Jews in Rome, by the mouth of the Apostle, is the highest and last which the Apostolic Church can do for the lost sheep of the house of Israel; just as the revelations and discourses of Jesus, during His last stay at Jerusalem, are the highest and last which, during His existence on earth, the Lord could bestow of mercy

and love upon Israel. Since in neither case is Israel softened, or humbles himself with his whole heart before his God, it is seen more plainly than ever, that the word concerning Israel, by which the prophet Isaiah was called, is Divine truth. This reference to the word of Isaiah, however, must not be understood as if the truth of the word which Isaiah once uttered concerning the conduct of Israel, were confirmed by the unbelief with which the Jews receive the closing proclamation by Jesus, as well as by St Paul. On the contrary, it is only by the proclamation both by Jesus and by His Apostle, that that commission which the prophet received concerning Israel, is fully and finally carried out. For, Isaiah was sent to Israel in order to harden them; and we have already, on a former occasion, remarked that he discharged that commission by announcing and making known the salvation. But inasmuch as the word of salvation which Isaiah had to announce was not yet exhausted by his ministry, but is fully displayed and manifested in the evangelical proclamation only (see 1 Pet. i. 25), the commission given to Isaiah must likewise be conceived of as continuing beyond its time and limit, as specially resumed in the time of the revealed Gospel, and as being, here only, fully carried out and brought to a close. If thus the mission of the prophet Jonah to the Gentiles be resumed by Jesus, and completed, by the power and influence of the Risen One, in the Apostle Paul; the mission of the prophet Isaiah to Israel is likewise resumed by Jesus, and likewise completed, through the power of His omnipotent Spirit, by the Apostle of the Gentiles. By this it is still more clearly seen, how the Apostle in this place was, by necessity, led to that commission of the prophet Isaiah. We are thus so minutely and emphatically referred to the powerful word of God at the calling of the prophet Isaiah, in order that we may be convinced that this last and, in itself, most successful effort of the Apostolic Church for the conversion of Israel has, in the same manner, turned to the opposite, as has every proclamation of salvation since the time of the prophet Isaiah. The work of winning love towards the people has had the effect of hardening them and making them obdurate; and thus, at this place and moment, the work of their being by God concluded in unbelief is completed (see Rom. xi. 32). This fact, at the close of our Book, thus reflects a clear light upon the whole course which the de-

velopment of the Church has taken. At the close, we see here anew that the course of the Gospel, in its whole first stage, could be none other than that it should turn away from Israel, and that this turning away should more and more decidedly come out, and at last be completed. And this we must, at the close of our Book, see more distinctly than we ever could before, just because the height on which we are here placed overtops all the former points of the development.

It is true that the condition of Israel, when viewed in the light of this prophetical word, appears in all its fearfulness; for this declaration of Scripture puts the Divine seal upon the fact that the unbelief of Israel is an abiding condition, decreed in the counsel of God. But, on the other hand, this very Divine light, which shines into the abyss of Israel, points out the only existing way of escape. Even Isaiah, when beholding the fearful condition which was described to him, and which he was to bring about by his own ministry, had put the question :—How long was this condition of his people to last? (Isaiah vi. 11). Upon this question, in which it is undeniably implied that this condition must come to an end, because the hope of the final salvation of Israel cannot, and must not, be given up ;—upon this question, a satisfactory answer was given to the prophet, in which the expectation is not only confirmed, but the fulfilment of that hope is indicated in a few short sentences (see Is. vi. 13). But from many undoubted features of St Paul's history, we have obtained the certainty that St Paul entertains the same love and disposition towards his people as Isaiah did,—that the Apostle can, as little as could the prophet, rest, and resign himself to the thought of Israel's hardening and obduracy. We may, therefore, also assume with certainty that, when the Apostle refers to the calling of Isaiah, that feature of hope is to him something altogether essential, and not to be forgotten ; yea, that St Paul calls to mind that dark aspect in the calling of Isaiah, only in such a way that he can, at the same time, look to the bright aspect. And from the manner in which the Apostle introduces the prophetic word, we at once see that, with the whole sympathy of love and hope, he holds fast the people of Israel ; for they to whom the word of Isaiah is, in the first instance, addressed, are designated as πατέρας ἡμῶν (ver.

25). For the reading, ἡμῶν, is found in the greater number of MSS., and is no doubt preferable to the other reading, ὑμῶν, which is found in Cod. A, and a few other Codd., and which Lachmann has received; because ὑμῶν could be substituted, not so much for grammatical reasons, as Meyer thinks, as upon logical grounds. For it seems, indeed, to commend itself very much, that St Paul, when uttering the hardest words against Israel, cannot well include himself in their communion, but must proceed upon his being distinct from their communion. And how should the first transcribers have had a distinct idea of that, of which, even now, very few theologians have any conception, viz., the unfathomable, inextinguishable love of the Apostle of the Gentiles towards his own people! If, then, we read ἡμῶν, St Paul includes himself in this judgment of hardening, and his own conversion is to him a most obvious and certain proof that the Divinely decreed and sealed hardening of Israel also may, and shall be overcome by another power, viz., the grace of God (see Rom. xi. 1). And, indeed, St Paul gives also a distinct view of what the prophet has merely hinted at, regarding the future change for the better. Of the tree of Israel—so the prophet says—a stem only shall remain at the time of this judgment (see Is. vi. 13); and this figure is afterwards still farther illustrated when he speaks of the house of David, the principal support of Israel. For, resuming that word by which he was called, the prophet designates the Future of the house of David as a trunk, the roots of which alone remained of the high glorious tree of the Davidic kingdom (see Is. xi. 1). By this "stem," by this "trunk," Isaiah points to the Future of Israel; for the stem is a holy seed (see Is. vi. 13), and the hidden root of the trunk shall send forth a new branch (see Is. xi. 1, 10). As regards these prophetic intimations, it is common to limit the view to the person and history of Jesus, in so far as they refer to the Gentiles; but, in doing so, it is impossible to hold fast the connexion of the cause of salvation with the past history of Israel, while the Future of Israel, to which these prophetic representations likewise point with equal distinctness, is entirely lost sight of. But if we view St Paul's last word to the Jews in connexion with St Paul's mode of thinking, that which otherwise is neglected and lost, is here supplemented.

For it is only the first feature in the view opened up by the words, *αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται*, which is to be conceived of as a contrast to Israel; while the second feature, according to the doctrine of Scripture, and of St Paul especially, is this:—that thereby Israel's return, and their reception of salvation, are effected. For as soon as the faith and obedience of the Gentiles are completed upon the whole, and on a large scale,—as soon as, according to St Paul's expression, the fulness of the Gentiles has come in, hardened Israel also can no longer resist this last and most effectual operation of the mercy of God. And when we ask for the continuity from the old to the renewed Israel, it is, according to this view, implied in the person of Jesus,—in that Israelite who, by means of the election obtained out of Israel, establishes himself in the midst of the Gentile world in such a form that, in this election itself, as well as in its Apostolic organism, everything Israelitish vanishes out of sight. The history of Jesus Christ, and the Apostolic Church, are the abiding, internal foundation and beginning of the Gentile Church. Whatsoever, therefore, the Gentile Church afterwards works and creates, that she works and creates by means of this foundation, and in consequence of this beginning. And if, in some future time, she, being herself completed, shall effect the great and final crisis in the history of Israel, this highest power and efficiency of the whole Gentile Church must likewise be reduced to this foundation and beginning. When viewed in this light, the concealment and invisibility of all that is Israelitish in the Gentile Church, is the concealment of a grain of seed which lies in the ground, and the invisibility of a root covered by the earth. The seed will generate and produce something visible, which, although in its appearance opposed to it, will bring to completion its own nature. The root will produce a branch, which, although as yet growing just in the opposite direction, will, the higher it grows, the more fulfil the destination of the root striving downwards. Accordingly, the closing word of St Paul to the Jews contains as much of a promising element, as did the threatening word in the call of Isaiah; and, here as well as there, the promise is implied in the threatening itself. A comparison with the discourses of the Lord himself, when parting from His people, is here involuntarily suggested to us. In one respect, Jesus' discourse to the people of

Israel in Jerusalem is quite the same as that wherewith St Paul takes leave of them at Rome: *Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἀρθήσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δοθήσεται ἔθνει ποιοῦντι τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῆς* (see Matt. xxi. 43). On the other hand, however, Jesus has left to them a farther word still, in which the hope of Israel is spoken of, not negatively merely, but expressly and positively; and this promise has respect both to the external and internal position of Israel. The Lord announces to the city of God, and to the holy centre of all Israelitish law and life, that they shall be destroyed and trodden down of the Gentiles (*πατουμένη*, comp. Rev. xi. 2); but, by adding immediately: *ἄχρι πληρωθῶσι καιροὶ ἐθνῶν* (see Luke xxi. 24). He not only puts a limit to the dominion of the Gentiles, but also to the devastation of the holy city. There shall thus,—so it is implied in the view opened up by the Lord at the close of His ministry in Jerusalem,—there shall thus, after the times of the Gentiles, come again a time of Israel, and in this time of Israel, the city beloved by God shall be restored again. The holy mouth of the Lord, however, is a sufficient guarantee that this outward restoration of the people cannot be separated from their spiritual restoration,—that, on the contrary, the former can be conceived of and understood as the corresponding manifestation and consequence of the spiritual renovation only. But the mouth of the Lord has not even omitted expressly to point out, in the sharply marked parting discourse to the Israelitish people, this spiritual aspect of the last Future of Israel. For St Matthew reports the following as the last public word: *Ἰδοὺ, ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν ἔρημος· λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, οὐ μή με ἴδητε ἀπ' ἄρτι, ἕως ἂν εἴπητε· Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου* (see Matt. xiii. 38, 39). In these parting words, there is undeniably and undoubtedly implied an intimation, that the Lord will, at some future time, meet again with His people. But this meeting is made to depend upon His being solemnly greeted and blessed by the people. Since the words of this salutation and blessing are quite the same as those with which He had been received by the people in those days when He held His solemn entrance (see Matt. xxi. 9), the meaning of this intimation cannot be doubtful. There cannot be any doubt, and it has, moreover, been witnessed by express words (see Matt. xxi. 15, 16), that the Lord was well pleased with the celebrating and

adoring meeting and salutation with which the people received Him. The joy of the whole people, the excitement of the whole city of Jerusalem, on account of the royal son of David holding His entrance on the back of an ass, is like the flashing up of the Divine spark which is dormant in this people of Jehovah. But He who knows what is in man not only sees the deeply concealed connexion of this bright ray of joy with the Divine nature and destination of this people, but also that this ray shall at once be again subdued and taken away by the carnal nature which is still unbroken,—just as a flash of lightning only serves to make the darkness of the night so much the more visible. But since, besides this, the Lord knows, like all the prophets, that Israel shall be redeemed from all their iniquities (see Ps. cxxx. 8),—that all the effects and power of the flesh shall at length be overcome by the Divine nature created in them, and by the Divine call;—that joyful excitement and expression are to him a sign in the Present which points to that final Future, in which there shall be fully realized and completed that which, at the time of the royal entrance of Jesus, was manifested as a kind of intimation only.

The manner in which the Lord takes leave of the Jews in Jerusalem reflects light on the farewell of the Apostle of the Gentiles to the Jews at Rome. We find a great resemblance between these two parting scenes; and with respect to the difference, we shall be obliged to acknowledge that it is quite in keeping with the difference between the two persons. If Jesus does not take leave of the Jews without expressly pointing to their last blessed Future, this is quite appropriate to the King of Israel —to the Divine Bridegroom of the virgin of Zion. But it corresponds as well with the position of the Apostle of the Gentiles towards the people of Israel, that he gives to the Jews only a hint regarding their last Future, the promising element and Future of which they will be able to comprehend, in so far only as they have overcome his threatening by the Spirit, and by faith. It is true that St Paul has also to give a farther and more express disclosure regarding the course of Israel's Future, and its last turn; but the Apostle of the Gentiles does not give this disclosure to the Roman Jews, but to the Christian Congregation at Rome, in order that she, as the height of the Gentile Church, should, from the very outset, keep in view her last aim and object, viz., the

conversion of the Jews. And, indeed, through the instrumentality of St Luke, the Gentile Church is far more benefited than the Synagogue, by St Paul's pointing to the Future of Israel, just when parting from the Jews; for the Synagogue has long ago forgotten the parting words of the Apostle of the Gentiles, but the Gentile Church neither will nor can ever forget them. She is able also to value and to lay to heart the whole weight of them; just as she will have the calling, at some future time, to open up and to seal to the Jews that which, at that time, in Rome, they did not comprehend and lay to heart.

With the following words: *καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος, ἀπῆλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, πολλὴν ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς συζήτησιν* (ver. 29), St Luke, and accordingly sacred history, dismisses the Jews, and now silently leaves them to their fate,—by which he gives us to understand, that it is only now that there is completely fulfilled that which Jehovah had once threatened to His people: "I will hide my face from them, I will see what their end shall be" (see Deut. xxxii. 20). Thus, formerly, the Gentiles were dismissed by sacred history; just as God permitted them to walk in their own ways, without God in the world (see Deut. iv. 19; Acts xiv. 16; Ephes. ii. 11), the Holy Spirit also has, from Gen. x., passed over their ways and works in silence. On account of the importance of this passage, I have therefore no doubt that St Luke intends to give a hint to the Church of God, in his remark about the condition of the Jews when they parted from Paul. For we are to learn from this remark that, although the Jews turn away from the word of God with deaf ears, and blind eyes, and hard hearts, they are not by any means to be conceived of as being altogether indifferent and dead in matters of faith and of the Divine life,—that, on the contrary, with all their obduracy and determination against the truth of God, they cannot come to rest about Divine things, but must continue in manifold uneasiness and excitement about them. In this is also intimated the possibility, in consequence of which, at all times, single individuals have come from the Synagogue to the Gentile Church, even in her imperfect and incomplete form. For, with these single individuals, the general restlessness, and the internal strife of the Jews, left to their own darkness, have had the effect that, in their seeking for Divine truth, they have found the heavenly light

which has been entrusted to the Gentile Church. In this restless inquiry and reasoning of the Jews, that farther quality is contained, by means of which they are able to perceive every great progress in the Gentile Church—as we had formerly occasion to remark in reference to the Reformation;—and finally—and this is the main point—not to overlook the great crisis by which she will attain to her completion in the whole world.

When God dismissed the Gentiles, allowing them to walk in their own ways, and Scripture, in correspondence with that, began to observe a silence regarding the ways and wanderings of the Gentiles, God began to found that Kingdom which is intended and called at some future time to gather again all the Gentiles who have gone astray, and bring them back to their God; and, closely following this counsel and work of God, Scripture begins with the history of Abraham. We shall, therefore, not wonder that Scripture does not leave the people of God without pointing out, immediately after their dismissal, the way in which Israel, abandoned to their last fate, are to be turned and brought back to their God. This is the signification and import of the closing sentence of the Acts of the Apostles; and although they are great and powerful things which our narrative discloses to us;—and although we have found that the form in which St Luke communicates his materials, is in perfect harmony with the great contents, yet we must confess that this close, if it have the sense which has been pointed out, joins itself, in a manner in every way worthy, to the whole as the perfect summit.

The first thing which is necessary, is to see what our closing period says in its particulars. It is said that St Paul dwelt two whole years in Rome, in his own hired lodging (ver. 30). So much does every hindrance and obstruction in the captivity of the Apostle disappear to St Luke, that he speaks of the Apostle's stay in Rome as if it had, from the outset, been one spontaneously chosen; and his residence he describes as one selected and furnished according to his pleasure. The duration of this stay of two years reminds us at once of the Apostle's residence of two years at Cesarea (see xxiv. 27). It is true that in Cesarea, too, the Apostle had some liberty (see xxiv. 23); but he was, and remained, after all, bound to the prison in the Praetorium of Herod (see xxiii. 35); and that alleviation he did not, by any

means, owe to the influence of his compatriots, and of his native land, but solely to the Roman Magistrate who protected the Apostle against the hatred of the Jews in Cesarea, as formerly he had done in Jerusalem (see xxiv. 23). In the same relation in which the Roman law and order in Cesarea—the capital of Judea according to the Roman Constitution—stands to the centre of all Romanism,—in the same proportion also stands the relief which the prisoner St Paul obtained at Cesarea, to the liberty which he enjoyed at Rome. While in Cesarea the power and influence of the Jewish hatred against St Paul appear to be stopped, they are so broken by the power of the Roman Constitution, during the Apostle's residence of two years at Rome, that they can no more prepare an obstacle to the Apostle's ministry. Even in this chronological statement, the contrast between Jerusalem and Rome is reflected; and even in this comparatively trifling remark, the victory of the Roman law and order over the Jewish is, in the course of the development of the Church, reflected in a peculiar manner. Even in answering the question, why St Luke has not extended the thread of the narrative beyond the first two years of the captivity at Rome, this parallel will be of service to us. For when we look back upon the course of our Book, we shall, a priori, be convinced that no personal regard to the Apostle can prevail in this circumstance, as many have supposed, and have thereby rendered it impossible to themselves to answer the question. But when reviewing the course of the development of the Church which has been pursued in our Book, is there not an object attained, if the two years of the bondage at Cesarea are compensated by the two years of the liberty at Rome?

The liberty granted to him during his captivity at Rome, the Apostle makes use of to receive all that come in to him, and to preach to them the Gospel. As those who came in to him are not designated more particularly, and as the proclamation of the Gospel, as we shall immediately see, was of an elementary character, we cannot but hold that such Romans came to St Paul as did not yet know any thing of Christ; and these, according to the context, in no small numbers. Moreover, if they who came had been members of the Church, the evangelical activity of St Paul towards them was a matter of course; and St Luke

would scarcely have made any mention of it at all, at least not in so significant a place as at the close of the whole Book. This mention is appropriate to such a place, only if the proclamation of the Gospel have that character of extension, to which the whole plan and progress of our Book point. In this case, those who came in to St Paul are such Gentiles in Rome as had their attention directed and attracted towards the Apostle by the intelligence which, in the various circles of the metropolis, was spread by the Centurion Julius and his soldiers, by the members of the Roman Christian Church, and, finally, by the representatives of the Jewish congregation. As this power of attraction could not fail to increase more and more, both extensively and intensively, by the experience which these first made of the power of the Spirit in the Apostle, we may indeed expect that, during these two years, all those gradually came in who, in the Roman metropolis, knew and felt some religious want. We may, therefore, well conceive also that, during this two years' ministry of the Apostle in Rome, an internal close also for the evangelical proclamation was formed.

That which St Luke remarks regarding the manner of the Apostle's evangelical proclamation at Rome, likewise corresponds fully to the designated present situation. With respect, in the first place to the contents,—they are designated as ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, and τὰ περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. We thus here meet not only the same characteristic twofold division as regards the contents of the Apostolical proclamation, which we found, in so significant a manner, in St Paul's dealings with the Roman Jews; but the second—the Christological division—is made prominent in a still more solemn manner. We are fully entitled to infer from this circumstance, that, in his preaching to the Roman Gentiles also, the Apostle proceeded with a conscious effort after completeness and connexion. In this again, we perceive the Apostle's consciousness of the high and comprehensive importance of the place in which the proclamation was made. And surely this circumstance is also the reason why the Epistle to the Romans is planned and executed in a manner which comprehends the whole territory of the Apostolic doctrine, while the single portions are closely connected with each other,—a plan which is not adopted in any other of the Epistles of St Paul. If, as re-

gards this Epistle, we are right in referring, to this locality of the city of Rome, the grand and lofty style in which St Paul, in it, views and carries out his evangelical proclamation, we shall, as regards the passages before us, not readily be mistaken if, in carrying out the fundamental thoughts mentioned, we suppose a regard to the peculiar circumstances prevailing in Rome, just as we supposed this in his proclamation in presence of the Jews, and found it, similarly, in St Paul's discourse on the Areopagus. And, indeed, it is quite as natural to refer the comprehensive expressions mentioned, to the general and public relations of the Roman metropolis, as was the case with the same expressions before the Jews. How could St Paul proclaim the kingdom of God in Rome, and before Roman Gentiles, without paying regard to the kingdom of the world which had, just at that time, and in the metropolis of the Roman Empire, raised itself to its highest point; and this so much the more, that, according to the history and doctrine of Holy Scripture, these two spheres stand, from first to last, in direct and thorough antagonism to each other? Beholding the outward power and glory, the abundance of goods and enjoyments of the Roman Empire, St Paul must have described the kingdom of God as a kingdom of the Spirit, whose nature and fruit are internal, viz., love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance (see Gal. v. 22); which is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost (see Rom. xiv. 17); and which, finally, does not consist in any outward word, but in the innermost hidden power (see 1 Cor. iv. 20). But, on the other hand, he must have described to them this kingdom of the Spirit, as a great whole comprehending the world, which can, as little as the Roman Empire, display and exhaust itself in the individuals, or in a community, or even in a people; but just as Rome has dominion over the world, so it also comprehends the world, encompassing lands and seas, and ruling over the nations. From the proclamation of the inward power and glory, greatness and majesty of this kingdom of God, St Paul passes over to the doctrine of Jesus. And even for this second division of his Apostolic word, there is no want of points of connexion distinctly developed. For is there not, in the Roman kingdom of the world also, a person in which, as in a comprehensive and all overruling height, the

whole cosmic variety and fulness of all the elements and powers existing in the world, flow together and are raised? The Emperor is this summit of the Roman Empire, overtopping, and overruling all. In the Apotheosis of the Roman Emperor, that is completed which Nebuchadnezzar already exhibited as the decisive mark of the first kingdom of the world,—namely, the absolute submission of all nations, tribes, and tongues of the Empire under the will of one ruler. How distinct and instructive a contrast to the central position of Jesus Christ in the kingdom of God! Jesus Christ is the living, human, and Divine centre, around whom every thing moves in the kingdom of God, —the great and small, the whole and the parts. It is the *Lord* before whom all the members of the kingdom must bow down; and it is for this reason that St Luke here very expressively writes, *περὶ τοῦ κυρίου*. But although the position of the two Lords and Heads, each to his kingdom, is altogether the same; yet these two persons are quite different from one another,—just as different and opposite as are the two kingdoms to one another. The antithesis of the two Lords in the two kingdoms is most clearly seen from the manner in which each carries out his will in his kingdom. For the dominion, in the case of both, consists in this, that the will of each is the highest law in his kingdom; but the way in which the will of these two obtains sway in the two kingdoms is altogether opposite. The Roman Emperor is the highest completion of human self-will. For human will has, from the very beginning, rebelled against and opposed the Divine will, by making that which in him is external,—*i.e.* the will of his flesh,—his basis, and, by resting on it, has rejected the will of God. The farther consequence of this self-will is the tendency to bring more and more the sphere of the outer world into the sphere of the will resting on the flesh; and its aim and end is to extend over the whole world, and to enforce upon it this decision of the carnal will. Inasmuch, then, as the ruler of the world is a man to whom is given power over all the relations of the world, there is here room for the efforts of the self-will to attain to its ultimate aim and object. But how different is it with the dominion of, and submission to the will of the King of Israel, the Lord within the kingdom of God! Here there is just the direct opposite to that first decision of the self-will by which every thing

afterwards is influenced and governed, viz., a complete denial of the self-will, pervading the whole life of man (see John v. 30; Matt. xxvi. 42), the complete giving up and offering up of the flesh by the Spirit in the midst of an ungodly world (see John vi. 51; Heb. ix. 14; Matt. xxvii. 46). Within the condition brought in by the first decision of the carnal will, there is here the human will again, unconditionally and without reserve, subjected to the will of God; and it is just on this that the power and dominion of this human will, which has become Divine, is based. For, according to the original Divine decree, the dominion over the world is given to man. Where, however, man stands in full harmony and agreement with the Divine will, there exists, undeniably and incontrovertibly, the power and dominion over the earth, and over every thing which is on it. To all those, then, who acknowledge and recognize this original and Divine will and decree as that which is alone the law and rule;—who accordingly, know that, in consequence of the first decision of the self-will, a deviation from this original will and decree has taken place, and also that in Jesus the human will has been brought back to the sole determination of the Divine will;—all such must be convinced that in Jesus Christ there is the only fountain of power and dominion in heaven and earth—that He is the *Lord* for the glory of God the Father. All these, of course, are they also who place the joy of the Spirit above the joy of the world, glory with God above glory in the eyes of men, the power of the holy will above the arm of the flesh. They are they who live in the kingdom of God. And now we see clearly how all these form a kingdom, inasmuch as all of them view and submit to the dominion and will of Jesus Christ as the highest law which governs all things. They who do not come beyond the territory of the flesh are, of course, subject to him who has the power in this territory, and acknowledge and recognize the Roman Emperor as the only Lord. But, in like manner, they who are living and moving in the territory of the Spirit, see, in Jesus Christ, their Lord, and are subject to Him in every thing.

But St Paul cannot, probably, have stopped with this antithesis, as it appeared in the Present. He must have exhibited it in the light of the Future, and in this light have shown to them that, at the end of the world, the ruler of this world, with all

those who recognize, in him, the highest and last decision, shall be deprived of the power against God which he has in the world; while the Lord Jesus shall make manifest His power and dominion, which, in consequence of the original decree of God, He now already possesses in concealment, and shall give a share in His dominion, and honor, and blessedness, to all those who now deny themselves, and follow Him in humility and meekness.

It may be in such features that St Paul displayed his preaching of the Divine kingdom, and his doctrine concerning Jesus Christ, before the Roman Gentiles, and in the face of the Roman relations and conditions. In the lofty style of this proclamation, which is manifested in the short statement of the contents, it is already implied that this evangelical ministry of the Apostle was carried out in great joy and confidence. Nor can we, since the spell of silence has been removed from the lips of the Apostle, expect anything else, than that the stream of the Apostolic proclamation should flow with full power, after a deep and level bed had been digged for it, as we see in the account of the voyage. But although this could not well be conceived of in any other way, yet St Luke has thought it important expressly to remark that St Paul delivered, with all confidence (*μετὰ πάσης παῤῥησίας*), this message to all the Gentiles who came to him in Rome. From Phil. i. 20, we see that St Paul himself designates the *πᾶσα παῤῥησία* as the highest, and most desirable and longed for object. We, therefore, infer that St Luke means to intimate, by this remark, that even the manner of St Paul's preaching at Rome was altogether normal and perfect. At the same time, we must not, in this statement of St Luke, overlook the circumstance that this fulness of confidence gives to the discourses of St Paul the entire character of public discourses, and deprives them of all similarity to conventicle discourses,[1] although they were delivered in his lodgings, and before private individuals only.

St Luke closes his short account of the characteristics of the two years' ministry of the Apostle of the Gentiles, before the Gentiles of the Roman metropolis, with the significant addition, *ἀκωλύτως*. The more that the preaching and teaching of St Paul

[1] Conventicle is, in Germany, the official name for private prayer meetings not authorized by the State Church.—[*Tr.*]

were comprehensive, the greater the confidence and joy with which they were carried on, the more it was to be expected that, in the metropolis of the kingdom of the world, obstacles would be thrown in his way. We are, of course, so much the more anxious to learn how the unreserved proclamation of the kingdom of God, and of its heavenly King, will be regarded and treated by the public authorities of Rome; inasmuch as our Book has, in the liveliest and most varied features, brought before our eyes how the person and ministry of St Paul, in their most winning and attractive form, have been bitterly hated, and persecuted to death by the public power in Jerusalem, the city of God. For this reason the ἀκωλύτως is so much the more surprising and expressive. It is a final seal, that, as regards the kingdom of God, the original relation between Jerusalem and Rome has been completely changed,—that the course of the development of the Church from Jerusalem to Rome is not only to be thus understood:—that the direction of this course is from Jerusalem to Rome; but thus also:—that the Church of Christ leaves Jerusalem, in order to be transplanted to Rome,—that Rome has taken the place of Jerusalem. It is true that this crisis is no more unexpected by, and sudden to us. On the contrary, when viewing the course of the Church's development in the light of our Book, it has gradually and spontaneously come out how we have to consider this crisis, and how we are to conceive of its origin. We have seen that the military constitution of Rome, which is as hard as iron, has, from the very outset, the tendency of being an instrument fitted for the completion of human self-will, and hence of developing the enmity of man against God into a kingdom comprehending the world. But we have found, in the course of our history, that this hostile character of the Roman Empire is put an end to, while, on the other hand, that which, in this Empire, is the original Divine appointment and creation, viz., law and right, stands above the will of individuals, and claims obedience, and is enforced, and is so for the good and protection of those who believe in Jesus; so that the faithful meet with hatred and persecution in the kingdom of Israel, although it is expressly formed and prepared for the kingdom of Jesus, while, in the Roman Empire, they find protection and promotion against the attacks of the Jews. We have

seen that this protecting and promoting position of the kingdom of the world towards the kingdom of God,—this highest victory of Jesus Christ in the midst of His enemies,—must be ascribed to the prayers and wrestlings of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and of the Gentile Churches.

If, then, we look back to the beginning of our Book, must we not recognize, in this fact, that the Apostle of the Gentiles preached and taught, without restraint, for two years in the Roman metropolis, under the protection of the public powers,—must we not recognize, in this fact, the very end to which the view opened up at the beginning of our Book pointed? The Lord Jesus is taken away from the Mount of Olives, and transferred into the heights of heaven; and St Peter finds, in this fact, the confirmation of the word in the Psalms: "Sit thou at my right hand" (see Ps. cx. 1; Acts ii. 34). But the aim and purpose of this sitting at the right hand of God in the height of heaven is, according to the explanation of the same Psalm, which is advanced by St Peter, too, in the passage quoted, that the enemies of the Lord shall be made His footstool by God. According to this explanation, the enemies are not to be killed and destroyed, but, in all which they are and have, they are to serve solely for the glorification of the Lord. St Paul's preaching at Rome proves that this, precisely, has been attained. For, in the sense of the Old Testament, the enemies of the Lord are they who are the possessors of the kingdom of the world, and such are, in the highest and last sense, the rulers of the Roman Empire. If these, then, are to employ their power and law in order to render innocuous the deep wound, and the most severe loss in the kingdom of God, viz., the apostacy of Israel, the Roman enemies of Jesus are thereby made His footstool. And since this is to take place whilst the Lord is sitting at the right hand of God, in the heights, and not whilst He is fighting against His enemies on a war-horse, this manner, too, fully agrees with what our narrative has shown. For all and every thing which the Acts of the Apostles report to us, regarding the beginning and progress of the kingdom of Jesus, is done absolutely and exclusively in the power of the Holy Spirit, whom the exalted Lord has poured out upon His Church, and whom He continues to bestow upon Jews and Gentiles. And farther—since our narrative everywhere

shows that no change has been going on in the external condition and circumstances of the world, the change in the position of the kingdom of the world towards the kingdom of Jesus must have been accomplished exclusively in the way of the Spirit.

One question only here arises, viz., whether that which here, at the close of the Book, we are told about the stay and ministry of the Apostle Paul at Rome, is really the highest and last which we can be entitled to expect, in the way which that view opened up to us. For it is only in such a case that we really have in our narrative a close which is completely satisfactory. If, however, there be a still higher stage of the development than has been exhibited to us by our Book, in the course of the Church's progress from Jerusalem to Rome, we should then feel ourselves forsaken by the canonical, normal history of the Church, as regards this higher stage of the development,—and the Acts of the Apostles would not completely fulfil their purpose. We should indeed, in such a case, have found an end at the close of our Book, but not that end to which the extended and lofty view of our Book pointed. Now, there exists a view of the development of the Church—a view as generally spread, as it is deeply rooted—that such a higher stage of the development of the Church is not only demanded, but even supposed, as being long ago reached and in existence. For it is generally and very seriously demanded that the order and power of the State should not only spread over the doings of the Church a protection and shield against wrongs and violence, but should also place its influence and authority within the sphere of the Church; just as, on the other hand, the State should receive within its own territory the ordinances and laws of the Church; and it is only this placing into one another of the ordinances and laws of the Church and State which is considered as the completed victory of the Gospel in the Roman Empire, just as, in the existence of it, people imagine that they possess the greatest treasure in the Present. If this view be as correct and true, as it is universally spread, and has entered deeply into men's convictions, then the significant ἀκολύτως, at the close of our Book, designates only a stage of the development of the Church, still very subordinate, and the thought of a τρίτος λόγος might well arise in us,—a thought which has been entertained by so many critics and

expositors of Scripture. But since, in that case, we should not have in our Book that which we imagined that we had in it, both according to the view stated, and according to the course of the development before us; and since, farther, that τρίτος λόγος is altogether wanting,—this view comes into opposition with the condition of our Book, as well as with the fact that this is the exclusive and only history of the Church in the New Testament Canon. For these reasons, we cannot avoid a short examination of this view; not as if we intended to give counsels for the present condition of the Church,—a thing altogether improper and out of place—but in order to show that the close of our Book really contains the canonical close of the first period of the Church, the normal close for the whole Gentile Church.

We saw above that, hitherto, the Gentile Church, even in her most glorious epoch, has not given to the people of God the standing which, according to Scripture, is due to them. If, then, we are able to show that this violation of the Divine right which is due to the Jews is closely and indissolubly connected with this, the mixing up, just pointed out, of the order of Church and State, then the current view of the Christian State, and of the State-Church, is thereby condemned as anti-scriptural. And indeed the obstinate denial and withholding of the right due to the Jews, in consequence of the Divine promise, has, in the Gentile Church, its ultimate reason in the circumstance that she erroneously claims for herself that position which is due only to the converted people of God. Luther supports his advice to burn the Synagogues of the Jews, by simply referring to the prescription of Moses in Deut. xiii. 16:—that when a town commits idolatry, it should be entirely destroyed by fire (see Walch xx. 2478). In this, there is implied the fundamental supposition, that the kingdom of the Saxon Electors is the continuation of the Israelitish kingdom. But if such be simply supposed, and form the fundamental view—as is clearly seen in the passage quoted—then, of course, there does not remain any hope and place for lost Israel, and it is self-evident that the Jews must be exterminated. The same fundamental error manifests itself in the similar, instructive context, where Luther makes the Christians responsible for the wickedness and blasphemies of the Jews, "because"—so he expresses himself—"it is done in the place

over which we have the power" (see l. c. S. 2499). For in what other way can Christians "have power over the place," than by forming an outward kingdom which has a territory? Luther, indeed, had not yet that external, territorial notion of the Church, when in 1521 he wrote the following: "If the Article of the Church in the Apostolical Creed be true, it follows from it that no one can see or feel the Holy Christian Church, and that we cannot say:—'behold! here or there she is,' for according to Heb. xi. 1, we do not see and feel that which is an object of faith, and that which we see and feel, is not an object of faith." For this reason, he could also, in 1523, as we saw shortly before, still entertain a hope for the lost sheep of the house of Israel. From various utterances regarding the Jews, which occur in his earlier writings, and in which the hope of Israel is not yet rejected, we see also quite clearly how far Luther was, at that time, from all and every notion of an external Christian kingdom among the Gentiles, formed after the fashion of the State. He modestly calls the Gentile Christians, Gentiles, and affirms that they are no more, and will be nothing more. Thus he writes l. c. xx. 2232: "And how much soever we boast, yet we are Gentiles, and the Jews are of the blood of Christ." He conceives of the believers among the Gentiles as individuals and not as nations, far less as states, when he writes: "For we ourselves are not yet all at it, far less beyond it" (see l. c.); and in the same Treatise, at another place: "Surely all of us are not good Christians either" (see l. c. S. 2265); just as Jonas, in the preface to the translation of the same Treatise, feels himself constrained to confess: "Let us pray for this people; and the more so, that not all of us who bear the name are good Christians either" (see l. c. S. 2266). This position in his view of the Gentile Church, Luther could not maintain, although it is founded on truth and humility, because the opposite view had, for many centuries before, taken too deep a root in the Gentile Church. This fundamental view of the Gentile Church took its rise when the Roman Emperor began to bow before the majesty of the heavenly King. At that period, it happened for the first time, that the Imperial Majesty and the power of the State acquired an immense weight and influence for the order of the Church; just as, on the other hand, the Church

brought her laws into authority and practice for the order of the State. Here also, in the position of the Gentile Congregations towards the Jews, it is at once seen, that this great crisis in the whole existence of the Gentile Church is based upon an usurpation, viz., that the Gentile Church is the completed kingdom of Israel. How hard, and how different from St Paul's, are the expressions which Bishop Ambrosius, in his 29th Letter to the Emperor Theodosius, employs when speaking of the Jews! Farther—the Apostle John has established and sealed the hope of the complete restoration and completion of the kingdom of Israel, in the definite prophecy of the millennial reign of Christ, and of His people on earth. In her poverty and bloody persecution, the suffering Church had been comforted by this view; and, in consequence of it, she, notwithstanding all her tribulation, did not allow her view to be darkened and narrowed. It is true that, in this hope, the suffering and persecuted Church did not always maintain biblical clearness and purity, and, especially, not the Israelitish element which, according to the writings of the Old, as well as of the New Testament, forms the centre of it. But the essential fact brought into view by this hope, is, after all, acknowledged. When, however, the Roman Emperors began to introduce the law of Christ into the order of the Roman State, people in the Gentile Church, notwithstanding many suspicious signs, insisted upon recognizing, in this Christianized form of the Roman Empire,—*i. e.* of the fourth and last kingdom of the world, according to Scripture,—the restoration of the kingdom of Christ, of which the Apostle had prophecied, and for which the persecuted Church had been hoping. Thus it happens that Jerome writes in Dan. vii.: "Facessit fabula mille annorum;" and Augustine, de Civitate Dei, xx. 6, 7, by spiritualizing, dissipates and dissolves the biblical hope of the Millennial Kingdom. And, in doing so, the Gentile Church has deprived the lost people of Israel of the hope and standing which the New Testament prophecy had, in the most distinct manner, secured to them; and we need not wonder if the Crusades, in which this fundamental error of the Christian Church—this hereditary sin of her pride—was heightened into an universal fanaticism, opened with a cruel slaughter of the Jews.

After these facts, we can so little recognize any progress point-

ing beyond the close of our present course of the development, in that great change in the Gentile Church, which first takes place in the time of Constantine, and which is afterwards resumed in the Reformation, that, on the contrary, we find ourselves compelled to recognize in it an essential aberration of the Church from her right course,—an aberration which, among other things, can and must be recognized from the authoritative close of our Canonical Book. But, in order to meet a misunderstanding to which such an assertion is readily exposed, I remark expressly that I do not, for a moment, hesitate to admit that, notwithstanding the twice repeated aberration, this invasion of the Gentile Church into the territory reserved for the Future of Israel, has been connected with many good and beneficial consequences to Church and State; yea, I even express my conviction that, in both cases, this aberration was not made without faith, and, in so far, not without God. Thus Abraham sought the seed of God from the Egyptian handmaid, Hagar; and for this reason Ishmael was blessed, and that, even earlier than Isaac. But Abraham was obliged to come to the conviction that he had sought the seed of God in the wrong way. The very consequences of his own aberration, which he had made in faith, brought him to the knowledge that he had gone wrong; and in this knowledge he was himself obliged to send away the seed which he had sought in a wrong way, before he could enjoy the seed given to him by God. The Gentile Church also must suffer from the consequences of her aberration. Her own conscience, and the holy incorruptible voice of the Divine word, ever anew give the lie to her thoughts of the Christian state, and of Christian nations. And when she looks outward, she knows that she is called to bring in the fulness of the nations into the kingdom of God; and how much soever she labours and toils to perform this task, she must yet confess that, in the manner hitherto pursued, she is able, indeed, to convert single individuals from among the nations, but never the nations themselves. These her inward sufferings she will have to bear until she abandon her lofty thoughts of her own greatness and dignity, and descend to the measure appointed for her by God and His word.

The Apostle of the Gentiles wished to preserve his congregations from boasting, from high-mindedness, and from being wise

in their own eyes; and therefore he communicates to them the mystery regarding Israel's Future (see Rom. xi. 18, 20, 25). But because they did not heed and lay to heart this mystery, they have unavoidably become a prey to false glorying, high-mindedness, and conceit. But the Spirit of the Lord will not cease to reprove them, until they see themselves to be what they really are, the gathering of the faithful and of saints from among the Gentiles, elected and called from eternity. And if the Gentile Church, divested of her pretended greatness and dignity, descend to the position appointed and decreed for her by God, she will not, for a moment, want the true, pure, and Divine power. For it is only in this her humble position appointed for her by God, that she will completely and thoroughly understand what is the position of the people of God. At present, in the mist and fog of her thoughts regarding Christian nations, she is unable to realize it. And it is when she recognizes what the people of God are, that the Gentile Church will learn to understand and appropriate to herself the idea of nationality in its Divine right; and then the beneficial effect will be that the single believers and saints shall inwardly, in the Spirit of Christ, join with these people, and be, thereby, enabled to form the true fulness of their people. After such has been done, the Congregations shall also have power to work outwardly, and to bring in the fulness of the Gentiles into the kingdom of Christ. For it is only when the missionaries, by means of the Spirit of Christ, stand in their own nationality, that they are able so to convert the individuals in another nation, that they remain in an inward communion with their nation, and, hence, are able again to influence their people in the Spirit of Christ. But when, —as now the rule is,—a German, *e.g.*, is separated from his own people, he may indeed convert a Hindoo; but the converted Hindoo will be as much a stranger to, and without influence upon his people, as the master is to his own; for the disciple is not above his master. But when the Gentile Church, after having inwardly appropriated to herself the holy nationality of Israel, and after the individual members of the Church have joined themselves to their own nation, begins to spread the Gospel outwardly, her missionaries will, in the original Apostolic manner, view the whole of the nations created by God; and, entering into their language and history, will take possession of the spirits of

the strange nations, and from this standing point, convert the single individuals to God. And these single individuals will thereby be brought into such a position, that they, likewise, will consider themselves as called upon to exert their influence upon the whole of their people, and will not desist until the fulness of it shall be received into the kingdom of God. Now, we have the promise that this effort of the Church to influence the nations as a whole shall be crowned with success, in such a manner that the fulness of the Gentiles, *i.e.*, all that which, according to Divine creation and appointment, constitutes the essence of the Gentiles, shall enter into the kingdom of God. But as soon as this takes place, another effect, as comprehensive and as thorough-going, will not, according to the same promise, fail. For, when the Gentile Church shall be established among all the nations, and in all lands and isles, in this manner which is as free and spiritual as it is comprehensive and grand, then Israel, scattered to all the four winds, shall, on the one hand, no more be offended by the usurpation, on the part of the Gentile Church, of a position exclusively due to the people of God; and, on the other hand, they will be attracted by seeing, evidently and undeniably, that the living God dwells in the Gentile nations on the whole globe. And we know that it is this universal and thorough attraction by the Gentile Church which St Paul had in view in his last closing word to the Jews, and that by it, the obduracy of Israel shall, at length and for ever, be broken, although it has lasted for thousands of years. But when this great event shall have taken place, —an event which must be regarded no less as a miracle of God, than as the last result of the whole history of the nations,—then the whole form of the Church must, necessarily and essentially, be altered. From that moment, converted Israel forms the centre of the Church of Christ, and, with it, the Church also must assume the form of a people and kingdom. She must change her position; and while, hitherto, she was internal and hidden, she must then become external and visible. But when the people of Israel have again been brought to light out of the depth of the abyss, by the influence of the Divine Spirit in the Gentile Church; and when this people are again, for the whole world, the centre of the kingdom of God, around which all other Gen-

tile nations, brought unto God, are crowding,—how then should the King of this people, and the Head of this kingdom, still longer dwell in the depth of heaven, and not rather show himself as He who has, by His all-powerful love, created and founded all these works and wonders,—who is the *A* and the *Ω*, the first and the last?

We now see that our Book really carries on the course of the development of the Church to that point, at which, according to the view opened up at the commencement of it, a complete change of all the circumstances of the Church of Christ must take place, and at which the prophetical Book of the New Testament resumes the thread of the history, in order to represent to the Church of Christ the last struggles and sufferings, in which the consolation of God will be, more than ever, necessary to the members of His kingdom. The Gentile Church, by thus imagining that she is already long ago beyond the closing point of the Acts of the Apostles, and that she has already reached a higher stage of existence, shows only that she has not sufficiently known herself and her aim. She will be obliged to admit that that condition which we here find at the close of the Acts of the Apostles,—that condition, namely, where the spheres of State and Church are co-ordinate, and side by side with each other,—is the normal condition which, as in the metropolis of the world, must find application in the whole extent of the kingdom of the world, in all the lands and isles of the world. In order to acquire again the original form which is appointed for her by God, and which is well pleasing to God, there is imposed upon her the duty of putting an end to the mixing up of the two spheres into which she has, in manifold ways, fallen,—to put an end to it, not indeed in the way of the flesh, by passionate impatience and self-working, but in the way of the Spirit, by repentance and faith, by watching and praying. But, if thus it appears that, in this most significant and instructive close of our Book, the Gentile Church has lightly and carelessly overlooked the main point, it follows that with the whole Book—with its beginning and progress which everywhere point to this end—she must have been as little in earnest. It will, therefore, be high time that the Church should bestir herself, and at length give diligence that she may better study and under-

stand this sacred Book, and more faithfully follow up its directions, in order to acquire again that light which, in the difficulties and troubles in which she is at present involved, and under which she is groaning, is ready to lead her to heavenly light and Divine power.

THE END.

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